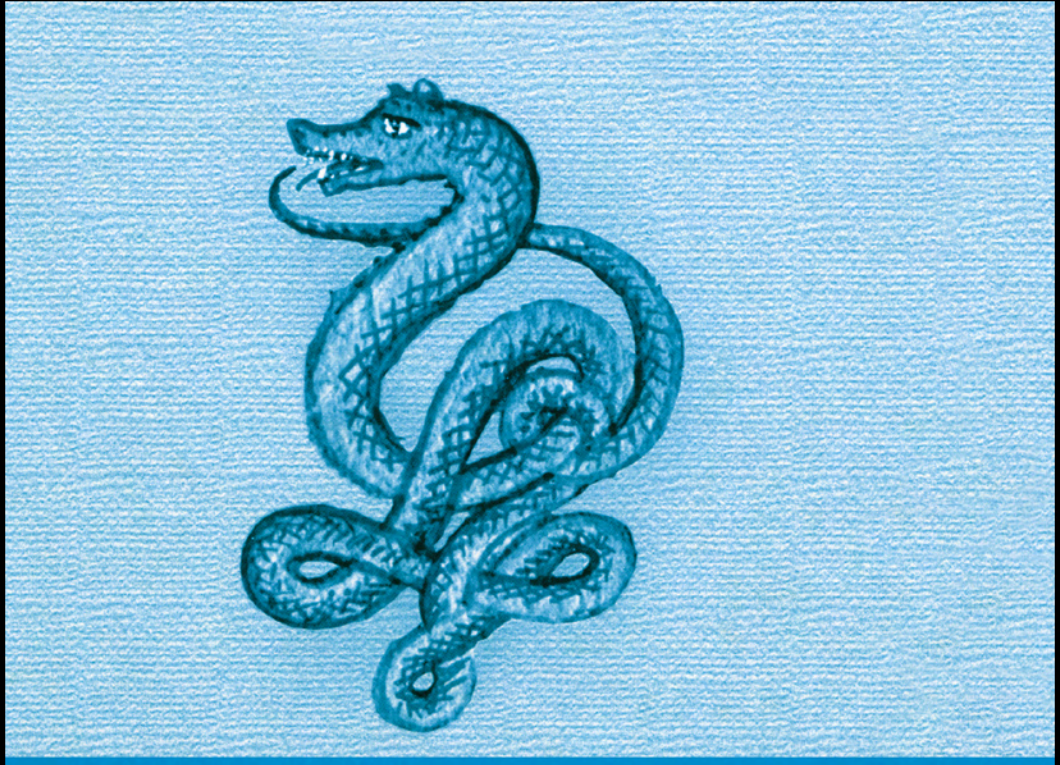

THE COURT CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF MANIPUR

THE *CHEITHARON KUMPAPA*

Original text, translation and notes

VOL. 1, 33 –1763 CE

Saroj Nalini Arambam Parratt

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THE COURT CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF MANIPUR: THE *CHEITHARON KUMPAPA*

The *Cheitharon Kumpapa* is the court chronicle of the kings of Manipur, a small formerly independent state situated on the Indian border with Myanmar. The *Cheitharon Kumpapa* is a court account of the state, which claims to record events from the founding of the ruling dynasty in 33 CE. This dynasty continued until the abolition of the monarchy after the merger of the state with India in 1949. The document is thus probably the oldest chronicle in the region, written on handmade *Meetei* (Manipuri) paper made from tree bark in locally made ink with a quill or a bamboo pen. All in all it comprises more than 1,000 leaves. This volume contains a copy of the original text of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa*, authorised by the Palace, and the English translation from the original composed in archaic Manipuri script *(Meetei Mayek)*. Explanatory notes and a glossary complement this interesting source of information. Scholars working on East and South Asia will find this volume enlightening, and the text will be useful for those readers engaged in social anthropology, religious history, archaeology, human geography and linguistics.

Saroj Nalini Arambam Parratt is a Manipuri born in Imphal, Manipur. She obtained her doctorate from the Australian National University under the supervision of the renowned Indologist the late A.L.Basham. She has lectured at several universities in Africa and has been visiting professor at the University of Manipur. She is an Honorary Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Research in Arts and Social Sciences, University of Birmingham. She has written extensively on Manipur's history and culture in articles that have been published in international journals and is the author of several books.

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Endpaper illustration Map of the eastern frontier of British India, with the adjacent countries extending to Yunan in China, by Captain R.Boileau Pemberton (Calcutta, 1838). Courtesy of the British Library.

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TO THE *MAICHOUS* OF THE *PUNDIT LOISANG*

CONTENTS

Preface ix

Abbreviations xi

PART ONE

Introduction 2

List of kings 19

Manipuri lunar months 21

PART TWO

The *Cheitharon Kumpapa:* English translation 23

Glossary of Manipuri words 175

PART THREE

Meetei Mayek or Meetei script 187

The manuscript text of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* in *Meetei Mayek* 190

PREFACE

Over a decade ago Professor N.N.Acharya, the noted historian of India's north-eastern region, commented: 'About the written account of Manipur it may be suggested that not only in the local languages of Manipur but also in English these chronicles must be published. [Together with *Rajmala* of Tripura] these valuable works deserve further study and research on scientific lines.' (*Proceedings of the North East India Historical Association*, Third session, Introduction, Jagirod 1991.) This volume is an attempt to move this important task forward.

The Manipur state chronicle, the *Cheitharon Kumpapa*, is one of a number of such chronicles that originated in an area which is the land bridge between South Asia, South East Asia and China. It has never before been available in English, and it is hoped that this translation will be of material use to historians and other scholars of these regions. I hope also that the publication of the original and official Ms in *Meetei Mayek* (old Manipuri script) will be of interest to linguists and palaeographers, and that it will help to stimulate the growing study of this script in Manipur and elsewhere.

The existence of *Cheitharon Kumpapa* came to the knowledge of the people of Manipur only in the late 1960s in spite of its existence for many centuries. It was protected and kept in the custody of a few court scholars. The official copy was kept in the Manipur Royal Palace but was overseen by the *Pundit Loisang*, the Institute of Manipuri Maichous (Meetei traditional scholars). After the enforced merger of Manipur with India in 1949 the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* continued to be kept unofficially, recording the Meetei lunar calendar, ritual and religious rites, and the role of the descendants of the last king of Manipur, Meetingu Bodhchandra. The general public in Manipur did not have access to the recorded history of their own land and people until the first limited edition of the transliterated copy into the Bengali script was published in the 1940s. But the Ms copies in *Meetei Mayek* remained closely guarded by their custodians. It was only in the late 1970s that some portions of the chronicle began to be used in a scholarly and critical manner.

Without the help of many friends and colleagues this publication would not have been possible. My especial thanks go to Kulachandra Ngariyanbam, the Head *Maichou* of the *Pundit Loisang*, who preserved the official copy of this *Cheitharon Kumpapa* after the cessation of the kingship. Had he not taken such care of the Ms copy, it would most probably have disappeared along with the rest of the private and court documents. I regard myself as extremely honoured that he has allowed me to copy this very precious historical material. Bhubon Haobam, chairman of the National Research Centre, Manipur, encouraged two of his staff, Irabanta Nameirakpam and Sopen Kshetrimayum, to assist me. They kindly travelled with me, and arranged for copying the Ms in the very difficult circumstances caused by shortage of fuel and particularly severe and disruptive army and paramilitary activity. Irabanta, together with Khomva Ngariyanbam, carried out the arduous task of photocopying the bulky Ms. My thanks are also due to Tony

Nongmeikapam for the free use of his motor cycle when no other transport was available. I must also acknowledge colleagues at Manipur University whose assistance was invaluable: the Chief Librarian, Radheshyam Chingakham, and his staff for providing me with books and giving practical help in innumerable ways; Dr Tejmani Sharma of the computer centre; Purnachandra Thoudam, the former Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, and most importantly Professor Tombi Hijam the former Vice-Chancellor of Manipur University; Rajen Sanasam, in charge of the Manipur University guest house, for facilitating a very happy stay in the university guest house, which became a second home in Manipur for me. I also thank my former philosophy student Premkanta Waikhom Mangang for his advice concerning the *Meetei Mayek* script; Maichou Rajen Phura Hongba Thounaojam, who supplied the key for deciphering scribal conventions; Professor Kangjiya Ngariyanbam for information on the archaic Manipuri writing material; Dr Khomba Khuman, private secretary/adviser to the titular king of Manipur; Khelachandra Ningthoukhongjam, former Keeper of Records in the Manipur State Secretariat Library, and Khomva Ngariyanbam for their discussion on the meaning of some of the archaic Manipuri terms; and especially Professor Gunindra Paonam of the Manipuri Department, who during my three visits to Manipur spent so much time sharing with me his knowledge of Manipuri language and customs. I must also mention my young Manipuri friends Tikendra Maisanam, Gune Mayanglambam, and my two sons, Chris and Tim, whose computer skills kept me going during some trying days. Tiken also scanned the whole of the Ms text contained in this volume, and Gune supplied the *Meetei Mayek* font. My former colleague in the University of Botswana, Dr Bruce Bennett, provided me with a number of very helpful insights into historical methodology. My husband, Professor John Parratt, and our daughter, Dr Rachel Parratt, gave me great encouragement to persevere with the completion of this difficult task and especially John for commenting with his wide and deep knowledge of textual critical approach and of the history of Manipur while the work was in progress, as well as for reading and commenting on the final version several times. My sisters Sabita, Mema and Rebecca and their families gave me valuable support during my several lengthy visits to Manipur.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to the Royal Asiatic Society, particularly to Andrea Belloli, for funding the publication of this work.

It is my hope that this English version of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* will provide new historical material for non-Manipuri scholars. Equally that the publication for the first time of the original *Meetei Mayek* text will enable Manipuris to study the text of the chronicle for themselves, and will thus encourage further critical exploration of Manipur's language, script, culture and history.

Saroj N.Arambam Parratt
Carlisle
June 2003

ABBREVIATIONS

Ch.K.	*Cheitharon Kumpapa*
P. Ms	Official palace manuscript of *Ch.K.* in the custody of Pundit Ngariyanbam Kulachandra
Madhab Ms	*P. Ms* copied by Thongngam Madhab
Din. Ms	Manuscript of *Ch.K.* copied by Nameirakpam Dinachandra which was in his custody
Deva M	Manuscript of *Ch.K.* copied by Kharaibam Deva which was in his custody
LI. & NK. Ch.K. (i)	*Ch.K.* transliterated into Bengali script and edited by Lairenmayum Ibungohal and Ningthoukhongjam Khelachandra, published by Manipur Sahitya Parishad in 1967
LI. & NK. Ch.K. (ii)	*Ch.K.* transliterated into Bengali script: an expanded version of the 1967 edition, edited by Lairenmayum Ibungohal and Ningthoukhongjam Khelachandra and published by Manipur Sahitya Parishad in 1989, after the death of the former

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

The written history of Manipur

Manipur is situated in north-east India on the border with Myanmar. The area of the state is about 8,500 square miles, comprising a central valley, the traditional home of the Meeteis (Meiteis), which is surrounded by ranges of hills inhabited by tribal peoples. These consist of many disparate groups, which later observers classified under the two general tribes of Naga and Kuki. The current population is about 2 million, two-thirds of whom are Meeteis and a third tribal. The Meeteis were a confederacy of seven (originally nine) *yeks* or clans. These subsequently came together under the dominance of the Meetei Ningthouja *yek*, which also gave its name to the whole nation. The *yeks* had their own divinities *(lai)*, some of which may have been deified ancestors. There was a supreme deity, *Sanamahi*, who was also known by other titles reflecting His attributes. The autochthonous Chakpa people may have been matriarchal and worshipped a Mother Goddess, *Leimaren*. The reverence of all these *lai* continues to play an important role in Meetei society today despite the advances of Hinduism beginning in the eighteenth century (Parratt 1980; Parratt and Parratt 1997).

The *Cheitharon Kumpapa* (or *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, henceforth referred to as *Ch.K.*) records events concerning the kings and the state up until the end of the kingship in 1955. It claims to trace the history back to 33 CE, though as we shall see the earlier part is problematic. Comparatively little has been written about the early history of Manipur, and what there is, is often inaccurate. The British established a political agency in Manipur in 1835. In 1891 they invaded Manipur, but did not annex the state, though they retained a certain amount of political control. Manipur regained its complete independence in August 1947 and, together with Travancore, became the first state on the Indian subcontinent to hold elections by full adult franchise. An elected assembly was set up with the king as constitutional ruler. In October 1949 Manipur was taken over by India.

Written records exist from the beginning of the British period. Some of these are quite crucial (especially Pemberton 1835; McCulloch 1859; Brown 1874). But the information they contain on the earlier period is necessarily second-hand and not especially accurate. For the pre-British period the *Ch.K.* is the only source we have which is of any substantial historical value. Histories written by Manipuris themselves began to emerge in the twentieth century. There were broadly two trends, both with clear ideological agendas. An earlier one, which is still influential in some circles, is associated especially with a court brahmin, Phurailatpam Atombapu Sharma. His voluminous writings all have the same agenda of reading back the influence of brahmanical Hinduism (which became especially strong during the 1920s and 1930s) into the earliest period of Manipur's history. For this theory there is no evidence. Hinduism, but in its Chaitanyite Vaishnavite form, began to appear in Manipur only around 1700 (Parratt 1980:135–66). Atombapu and his disciples in fact rewrote the early history of Manipur, including Hinduising

sections of the *Ch.K.*, to support their own thesis, and in doing so put back the serious study of Manipuri history for a whole generation. In the 1950s, soon after the merger of Manipur with India, a different approach arose, but which still retained many elements of Atombapu's theories. These writers[1] were fundamentally apologists for the integration of Manipur into the Indian mainstream. They were, by and large, Congress supporters who reinterpreted early Manipuri history to support their contention that the state had always shared in the culture of the Indian subcontinent. This is not correct. In language, ethnicity, culture, and in its history Manipur (like most of the North East Region) has been quite distinct from India proper. A careful examination by Gangumei Kabui appeared in 1991 which has made creative use of oral myths and legends in trying to reconstruct aspects of the early history. For the modern period there are several substantial scholarly works by Manipuris. It is important to note, however, that none of these writers used the *P. Ms* version of the *Ch.K.* in the archaic Manipuri script, *Meetei Mayek.* All were dependent upon a transliteration of the chronicle into Bengali script which we shall discuss below. This has led to problematic interpretations, especially for the pre-British period.

The nature of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa*

The title of the chronicle, *Cheitharon Kumpapa,* reflects the Meetei manner of counting and recording. *Chei* means 'a stick', *thapa (thaba)* 'to place, put down'. Counting in ancient Manipur was done by placing sticks, which represented the base number. *Cheithapa* therefore means placing stick(s) to aid counting. *Kum* means a period of time, and the verb *paba* to read or reckon. (The text actually reads *kumpapu*, the final suffix *pu* indicating the object). The title of the chronicle thus implies 'placing of sticks or using a base as a means of reckoning the period of time, the years'.

The *Cheitharon Kumpapa* falls into the category of national chronicles which are not uncommon in South East Asia, though are rare in India itself. The chronicle itself indicates that in the year 1485 CE King Kyampa began to keep the court chronicle in accurate detail, with the *cheithapa* method of dating[2] after a meeting with the king of Pong, an ancient kingdom in what is now upper Myanmar. (The text, however, does not imply that the keeping of the *Ch.K.* was actually begun only at that time.) The chronicle of the kings of Pong seems no longer to be in existence, but it is quoted at length in Pemberton's book on the north-eastern frontier of India, published in 1835. The Pongs were almost certainly migrants from southern China, and the ancient kingdom of Pong was situated between the border with Yunnan and the hills overlooking the Kabaw valley. There is compelling evidence that the Meeteis also migrated into their present land from the same direction, probably before the Christian era. Chinese historiography is well attested and it is possible that the practice of keeping such chronicles ultimately owes its origins to the Chinese. We find similar chronicles among Manipur's neighbours. The Ahom *Buranjis* are perhaps among the most important documents of similar genre. The Ahoms already had their own script when they entered Assam in the thirteenth century CE. There are numerous *Buranjis:* some are family histories but the more important were compiled, no doubt from earlier records, at the command of the kings.[3] In Burma the *Glass Palace Chronicle* is a similar royal chronicle,[4] while Tripura has the *Rajmala*.

The *Ch.K.*, the court history of the kings of Manipur, claims to trace the history of the Meetei kingdom back to 33 CE, and it ends with the last king, Bodhchandra, in 1955. As we shall show below, the earlier part of the chronicle is problematic both as regards dating and historicity, though the information it contains is still useful in reconstructing Manipur's early history. In this part the land over which the kings ruled is not called Manipur.[5] The use of the term 'Meetingu' (lit. lord of the Meeteis) for 'king' indicates that the chronicle is essentially the repository of the Meetei writing of history. It reflects the Meetei viewpoint over against that of the other *yeks* or clan groups, as well as of other peoples. Some of these were probably pre-Meetei autochthones (like the Chakpa and the Loi), others are today classified as 'tribal' (such as the Maram and Tangkhuls). In the course of time the Meetei *yek* subjugated the other *yeks* into a confederacy, for which they provided the monarch. They hence came to be known as 'Ningthoucha' (Ningthouja), i.e. royal,[6] and the name Meetei became applied to the whole confederate nation. The Chakpa and the Loi were assimilated, while the hill peoples formed alliances with the Meeteis or became tributaries. Thus the earlier part of the *Ch.K.* is essentially the story of the expansion of the Meeteis across the valley and hills of Manipur, and of the gradual assimilation of the *yeks* and tribes into their kingdom. It is therefore, like most royal chronicles, selective in the events it records, focusing especially on the birth and death of kings, and on their major exploits which contributed to the development of the state.

The *cheithapa* system of dating introduced by King Kyampa (Sak. 1389–1430/ 1467–1508 CE) enabled accurate dating by naming each year after an individual, to whom the name *cheithapa* was given. *The cheithapa* system was begun in Sak. 1407/1485 CE and from then on the *Ch.K.* records not only the year by name of the *cheithapa,* but also the month and the day of the month of each event. From this time onwards, the essential historicity of the chronicle seems assured.[7]

It seems that the earlier section of the chronicle, that is the events before Kyampa's accession, was reconstructed at a later time, during the reign of Chingthangkhompa (alias Bhagyachandra or Jai Singh). A note within the text, situated at the end of King Punsipa's reign and before the reign of Ningthoukompa (Sak. 1354/1432 CE), indicates that in the year of Takhen Ramcharan (Sak. 1702/1780 CE) Bhagyachandra commissioned a recompiling of the part of the *Ch.K.* 'which had been lost'. The insertion of the note at this point suggests that during the troubled reign of Bhagyachandra, when Manipur was attacked and occupied several times by the Burmese, the keeping of the chronicle was disrupted and the earlier leaves of it were either lost or destroyed. A more sceptical view would be that this portion never existed in a written form and was actually composed at the time, though this is unlikely. Whatever the facts, it is clear that Bhagyachandra's scribes had the task of writing or reconstructing the proto-history of Manipur, presumably from oral sources and memory, and perhaps also from scattered written records. As one would expect in such circumstances the material in this section of the *Ch.K.* is extremely sketchy. The dating given for the reign of all of these kings cannot be taken seriously for historical purposes. Some are assigned excessively long reigns of 90 to 100 years or more (perhaps meant simply to indicate a long reign), and there are some gaps in the chronology. Nor, furthermore, is it all clear that we are dealing only with one dynasty, or even with Ningthouchas only, since the names of the fathers are not often given and those of mothers are omitted entirely. We should probably conclude that

this section of the *Ch.K.* provides a convenient framework, a kind of historical construct, into which the writers have fitted the names of remembered kings and the exploits attributed to them. Possibly these are legendary figures, taken from the traditions of all the *yeks* which eventually made up the Meetei confederacy. Stories of conquest predominate, presumably with the purpose of giving an historical basis to the claims of the Meetei kings over the other *yeks* and peoples of the Manipur valley and hills as well as some of their neighbouring countries. Seen from this point of view this portion gives us clues as to the manner of the gradual expansion of Meetei suzerainity. Unfortunately several of the conquered groups and others with whom the Meeteis came into contact are not now identifiable with certainty in our present state of research.

The section translated here, 33–1763 CE (the date when the first contact with the British East India Company was made through one of the foreigners from India who was the king's adviser), deals also to some extent with the Meeteis' relations with the neighbouring countries, Mayang (Cachar, Bangla Desh), Kapo (Kabaw), Khamaran, Kakyen (Khakyen, a Shan state in Upper Burma), Pong (another Shan state), Aawa (Ava), Khaki (southern China), Takhen (Tripura), Tekhao (Ahom) and others. The settlement of many migrant groups of various ethnic origins from both the east and the west, the subdivision of the land for administrative purposes, the formation of a constitution, the decentralising of administration, and the enforced conversion of the people to Hinduism by royal pressure, also find a place. It is clear that every able-bodied man took part in the defence and service of the country and that the king himself did not hesitate to join them. Economy was in the hands of women, while men were engaged in defence and warfare, and in the absence of men women even defended the land. The writers of the chronicle were also conscious of the environment. Forest management, protection of many groves and of wild life, drainage and dredging of rivers, digging of new canals, improvement in the irrigation of paddy fields, regular maintenance of existing roads and making of new ones, and so on, are a regular feature of the entries in the earlier section. The people were warlike, brave, outdoor-loving and sportive. Recreation in the form of picnics is a regular feature in the entries, as well as sports such as hunting, boat racing, polo, hockey and even sports for the disabled. They were an agricultural as well as a boat people. Entries concerning the introduction of different patterns of embroidery and weaving also indicate the industrial and creative nature of the women. The people were egalitarian in that the king and his household, including the ladies, as well as the common people are recorded as having worked together for the good of the land. There is also a negative side of the picture, in the entries about mistrust and envy between brothers by different mothers in the royal household who were desirous of the throne, a phenomenon which is not uncommon in the ancient histories of other peoples or nations. There was no rule of primogeniture in succession to the throne.

Methods of dating within the *Cheitharon Kumpapa*

One of the most intractable problems is the dating of the events in the chronicle. One must assume that if there was any original yearly dating in the earlier reconstructed part, then (as in most other ancient civilisations) it must have been by the year of the reign of each king, though no trace of this remains in the *Ch.K.* Before the introduction of the

cheithapa dating, events are recorded only within the broad framework of each king's reign. Only after the *cheithapa* dating was introduced were events recorded with dates, days and months. Even if there were no events to record, yearly *cheithapa* names are always indicated. After the annexation of Manipur by India the *cheithapa* names were still recorded and this practice still continues. They became part of a calendar and the years bore the *cheithapa* persons' names.

It is not clear when dating by means of the Sakabda era,[8] which was commonly used in India, was inserted into the *Ch.K.* After the introduction of the Sakabda era, each reign was given a Sakabda dating. It has been suggested (Manihar 1996:71) that the Sakabda dating came in during the reign of Kyampa (Sak. 1389–1430/ 1467–1508 CE), the same king who introduced the *cheithapa* dating. This seems unlikely. Kyampa's *cheithapa* dating system is so meticulous that it would have been quite superfluous to have introduced a second system of dating (i.e. Sakabda) alongside it. It seems much more likely that the Sakabda dating was later, and it could have come in only after exposure to the dating used in wider India. This may well have been during the time of the Hinduising king Mayampa, alias Garibniwaz (Sak. 1631–1670/1709–1748 CE). There is evidence that he used this dating for coins issued in his reign, and it may be he also introduced it into the chronicles at the same time. An alternative would be to argue that it was introduced in the time of Bhagyachandra when the first part of the chronicle (the part which has apparently been lost) was reconstructed in Sak. 1702/1780 CE. This is perhaps doubtful, though, since this king, Bhagyachandra, during his alternating regency with his elder brother Meetingu Marampa, introduced yet another system, this time a local, apparently Bengali, Chandrabda dating and also a new era, the Kangleipak era, to coincide with it. This was in Sak. 1682/1760 CE,[9] and Chandrabda 971.[10] The Chandrabda era was subsequently abandoned, since it was not able to stretch far enough back in the history of Manipur to Pakhangpa in 33 CE. Sakabda was thus reinstated, but the double dating (that is, Sakabda plus the traditional *cheithapa*) continues throughout. The Sakabda dates, whenever they were inserted by the editors, must have been arrived at by calculating backwards by the number of *cheithapas*, and they are not original. For the period before the *cheithapa* system was in use (broadly the part reconstructed in Bhagyachandra's reign) the dating must be highly speculative. Indeed, some Manipuri scholars have argued (as does Gangumei) that a date of 33 CE for the founder king, Pakhangpa, is much too early. Why the scribes should have fastened on the peculiar date of 33 CE for Pakhangpa is unknown. Indeed, it caused them a further problem in that 33 CE is prior to the beginning of the Sakabda era (hence they had to insert another date for Pakhangpa, that of 3135 Kalyabda era, equal to forty-five years before the beginning of Sakabda). The suggestion that the date 33 CE may have been arrived at by astrological calculations rather than historical memory seems quite plausible (Gangumei 1991:91). There is no clear comparative dating evidence from elsewhere to assign likely dates in the pre-Kyampa era. The only event during this period for which we have any outside evidence is a visit to Manipur by Samlong, a prince of the kingdom of Pong, dated in the *Ch.K.* as 678 CE and by the Pong chronicle referred to by Pemberton as 777 CE. We have no means of knowing which source (if either) is correct. A further complication is that as the Manipuri year is a lunar year, like Sakabda, it would not in any case correspond exactly to the Western calendar. For the period after King Khagempa (Sak. 1519–1574/1597–1652 CE) the research of Paonam Gunindro on stone inscriptions in

Manipur (Mutua Bahadur and P.Gunindro Singh 1986) has corroborated some dates given in the *Ch.K.*

The text of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa*

As Kunstadter has pointed out, north-east India contains many minorities who speak languages closely related to those of South East Asia, rather than those of India proper. Meeteiron (Meiteron) or Manipuri, as it is more commonly called, is no exception to this. It is a language widespread among non-Meeteis as well as Meeteis, and with English is the state's official language. Little serious work has been carried out on the classification of Meeteiron since Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* (1903). Grierson in fact incorrectly used the spelling 'Meithei' and his comments on the old script (based on the early work of Damant and Pettigrew) are somewhat inaccurate. However, his assertion that the language falls into the wider classification of the Tibeto-Burman family is well founded. He classed it as belonging to the Kuki-Chin (or 'Meithei-Chin') subgroup. Its relationship with Naga languages is more distant (Marrison 1967). Luce (1985) classified the dialects of Andro and Sekmai (Chakpa-Loi, probably proto-Meetei autochthones) as part of the Tibeto-Burman Sak group.

The *Ch.K.* is written in *Meetei Mayek*, the archaic Meetei script. This began to be displaced by the Bengali script from the time of Garibniwaz, but continued in use for both religious and secular purposes.[11] It was only with the introduction of Western education from the end of the nineteenth century that the use of *Meetei Mayek* declined (Manihar 1996) and became the prerogative of the *maichous* (scribes). Manipuris of the diaspora, trained in Bengali, also introduced Bengali script for the earliest printed books in the Manipuri language (from 1900). *Meetei Mayek* never fell out of use, though the rise of printing meant that all Manipuri material after 1900 came to be produced in the Bengali script. In fact Bengali script is a poor medium for writing Manipuri. Not all the Bengali letters are used, and some of those which are do not correspond exactly to the sounds of spoken Meeteiron. The archaic script is making a recovery today, both in schools and in public signs. There is a need for a written literature in this script, and hopefully the publication of the original text along with an English translation of the *Ch.K.* will contribute to this.

The recording of the *Ch.K.* was done by the palace *maichous*, who were the official scribes in the *Loisang* or Institute of Scribes. It was probably, after Kyampa's time, written up soon after the events it describes. Entries in the *Kumpapa* are made for each year after the introduction of the *cheithapa* by name. There is no break between one year and the next, except a large round spot indicating that another yearly entry has begun. Even where no event is recorded as having taken place within a particular year the *cheithapa's* name is still recorded. The official copy was always kept in the palace.

The 'paper' used was made of bark, and the ink of traditional materials. Meetei paper is made from the bark of an indigenous tree *(su)* which grows about 10 ft in height. After cutting the tree into small logs they are soaked and the bark is peeled off. The bark is pounded by hand, using a big wooden mortar and a heavy long pestle, into a thick pulp. While pounding, *nungsil* (an indigenous alum-like substance, blue in colour, which has the property of gum) is added. This pulp is mixed with water in a large wooden basin and

then spread out very thinly, using a wooden spoon shaped like a human hand, and kept in an airless room for about forty-five minutes to one and half hours. After all the water has been drained off, the flattened pulp is lifted up with the aid of a flat wooden spoon and laid out for drying. It is then placed on a wooden board and cut into small pieces. The size of the leaves of the *Ch.K.* Mss are approximately 5–5½ in.×14½ in. each. Finally it is smoothed on both sides by rubbing with a small round indigenous seed called *kangkhin*, the size of a large marble, the skin of which is like that of horse chestnut. There are seven varieties of indigenous ink with a range of ten to fourteen different colours. The most common ink is made by pounding tree bark and adding blackened rice powder, soot and gum. If mercury is added to it, it also becomes permanent, and the writing is preserved even if placed in water. These skills are still preserved by the experts. The pen was made from either quill or bamboo.

The origins of the archaic *Meetei Mayek* script are altogether obscure. Little helpful research has been carried out on it since Grierson's *Linguistic Survey*, though Gunindro has traced the evolution of the forms of the letters since the end of the sixteenth century from inscriptions (Mutua Bahadur and P.Gunindro Singh 1986). It bears no similarity to the Devanagari alphabet which is used for Sanskrit and its derivatives, or the Brahmi script (used in the inscriptions of Asoka). The text is written in uncials, and there is no distinction between capitals and small letters, though there are some final letter forms. The letters are separated. There are no spaces between the words, but double parallel lines indicate the end of a sentence or sometimes a phrase which carries the meaning of a sentence in a very cryptic style. There is no paragraphing, and some shorthand conventions are used.

Vowel sounds may be represented by full letters at the beginning or end of a word. Within words vowels are represented in most cases by signs which are placed above and under, as well as before and after, the consonants, and in some cases full letters are also used as vowels. The vowel signs seem to be a later development. The scribes use numerous devices to abbreviate words. For example, one consonant may be written with two or more vowel signs, in which case the consonant is understood to be repeated. This represents either two distinct words or a repetition of the last syllable. For example, *mapau* will be read as *mapa* (father) (and) *mapu* (grandfather), and not as *mapau*. Again, *Kumpau* represents *Kumpapapu;* here the suffix pu is used for the genitive case (meaning 'of the *Kumpapa*') and the name *Kumpapa* is also abbreviated.

The officially recognised Meetei script (known as *Meetei Mayek*) has twenty-seven letters, and the correct spelling of the name by which the script is called is 'Meetei' (*Manipur Gazette*, 16 April 1980, No. 1/2/78-SS/E, and 24 April 1980, No. 2/2/78/-SS/E). However, the original *Meetei Mayek* (alphabet) consisted of only eighteen letters, each of which is believed to represent one single part of the human anatomy, the formation of the embryo and the birth of the child.[12] These letters are, in order, k (*kok* head), s (*sam* hair), 1 (*lai* for *laipak* forehead), m (*mit* eyes), p (*pa* eyelash), n (*na* for ears), ch (*chil* lips), t (*til* saliva or life), kh (*khou* palate), ng (*ngou* larynx), th (*thou* ribcage), w (*wai* embryo or sperm), y (*yang* spine), h (*huk* for *hakchang* body or the human being), u (*uun* skin), ee, i, ei (*ee* blood), ph (*pham* womb), a (*atiya* sky, implying birth). In the evolution of the language these original letters were further developed in order to provide new sounds. These are: g, jh, r, b, j, d, gh, dh, bh. This was presumably a result of the Meeteis coming into contact with peoples of different language groups. With

these nine additional letters, the *Meetei Mayek* script now has a total of twenty-seven letters. Except in the case of loan words one can read the *Ch.K.* Ms in *Meetei Mayek* up to the portion translated in this edition, with the original eighteen letters.

The text reproduced here is the official palace version, now in the keeping of *Maichou* Ngariyanbam Kulachandra, *Pundit Achouba* (Head Pundit) of Manipur State Pundit Loisang and referred to henceforth as the *P. Ms.* It bears the palace seal and must be regarded as the authentic text. The *Ch.K.* itself records that in 1954 Maharajah Bodhchandra ordered the recopying of several leaves of the chronicle which were disintegrating. The following year, shortly before his death, he had the complete Ms read through to him, and authorised this version as the only definitive and authoritative one, pronouncing all other copies then existing outside the palace as unacceptable. He subsequently, according to the *Ch.K.*, put his royal seal upon each page of the Palace version in the presence of three high officials.[13] This text in *Meetei Mayek* is being made publicly available for the first time. Snahal (1991:76, 78) lists four extant manuscripts of the *Ch.K.* in *Meetei Mayek* in his catalogue, but he was apparently unaware of the Palace Ms in the custody of Khulachandra. Only one of those he lists (in the custody of the Manipur Kala State Academy) is on Meetei paper. The others, on Bengali paper, were in the keeping of Ningthoukhongjam Khelachandra, Oinam Bhogeshwar and Kharaibam Deva (the latter is referred to below as the *Deva Ms*). All are listed as incomplete.

The introduction to the second edition of Lairenmayum Ibungohal and Ningthoukhongjam Khelachandra's transliteration of the *Ch.K.*[14] lists four Mss as having been consulted in the production of that version. They include the *Deva Ms* (as above) and another in the keeping of Nameirakpam Dinachandra (referred to henceforth as the *Din. Ms*). Both of these were available to me. The others were the Mss in the keeping of Thongam Madhab (see below) and Moirangthem Chandra. It is not indicated what kind of paper these are written on or whether they contain the complete text.

I have used the *Palace Ms (P. Ms)*, which bears the palace seal, for this edition and translation. It seems likely that the Madhab *Ms (Mad. Ms)* is a copy of the *P. Ms* which was available to me. The other Mss which were also available to me as indicated above were those of Deva and Dinachandra. The former is incomplete, and in places quite badly copied. As this translation is not intended to be a critical edition I have alluded to variant readings only in a few crucial places where they differ significantly from the *P. Ms*.

Bengali script and English versions

About 1925, during the reign of Churachand (1907–1941), one of the royal scribes, Thongam Madhab, was commissioned to make a transliteration of the *Ch.K.* into Bengali script (Atombapu n.d.:2).[15] This was subsequently published by the Visvabharati Mandir in Imphal in the 1940s. This edition appeared just after the war, probably in 1945–1946,[16] and presumably did not include the account of the reign of the last king, Bodhchandra (1941–1955).[17] This edition seems subsequently to have gone out of print and become unavailable. It would seem that Lairenmayum Ibungohal Singh[18] tried to reprint this transliterated version of the *Ch.K.*, and the publication was subsequently taken up by the Manipur Sahitya Parishad. It eventually appeared after Ibungohal's death as *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, edited by L.Ibungohal Singh and N.Khelachandra Singh (Imphal, 1967,

henceforth referred to as *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (i)). This edition does not acknowledge the role of Madhab as the transliterator, nor that of Atombapu Sharma as the original *Vishwavarati Mandir* publisher. From a careful examination of the text given here, it seems clear that Madhab generally followed what we have called the official *P. Ms* version, printed in this present volume. The 1967 Bengali script transliterated publication may therefore be regarded as a generally accurate rendition and a substantial contribution to historical scholarship. However, there are a few places where alterations have been made by Ibungohal and Khelachandra. *LI & NK. Ch.K.* (i) ends with the death of Bodhchandra in 1955.

Unfortunately after this first edition edited by Ibungohal and Khelachandra was allowed to go out of print, it was replaced by a second edition in which the surviving editor, Ningthoukhongjam Khelachandra, made very substantial alterations (*Cheitharol Kumbaba*, Imphal, 1989, henceforth *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii)). According to the introductory comments in this volume, these alterations and additions to the first Bengali script edition (*LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (i)) are the result of a comparison of the text with other extant copies of the *Ch.K.* in *Meetei Mayek*. Khelachandra did not, however, produce a critical edition, so it is wholly unclear which Ms texts he is following in specific places, nor does he argue why alternative textual readings should be more reliable than the *P. Ms* text, which Madhab seems to have used throughout. Much more seriously, however, Khelachandra's second edition has incorporated into the text numerous additional details taken, not from the variant texts of the *Ch.K.* itself, but from the large number of other Mss in *Meetei Mayek* script (sometimes called *Puyas*) on various historical, cultural and mythical themes.[19] Had Khelachandra printed these additions as footnotes with full references to his sources it would have been an extremely useful compendium for historians and textual critics. But by inserting these additions within the text, without any explanation or source referencing, parts of the text have been altered beyond recognition and have thus become corrupt. This second edition in the Bengali script cannot therefore claim to be in any sense a straightforward accurate rendering of the *Ch.K.* It is an amalgam of the basic text of the *Ch.K.* transliterated by Madhab, expanded by a random selection of insertions from other sources, many of which have little historical worth. As such it is not only of little material value to the scholar, but is at many points positively misleading. Hopefully the publication of the Palace *Meetei Mayek* text will help to clear up the confusion caused by the second edition of the *Ch.K.* into Bengali script (*LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii)).

A word here is perhaps necessary about the *Meetei Mayek Puyas*. There are a great number of these of varying length. Those which purport to deal with history by and large fall into three categories. First are those which seem to be fictionalised elaborations of events mentioned in the *Ch.K.* and therefore have no historical value. Second, there are a few Mss, dealing with the later kings, which do seem to be broadly contemporaneous with the events they describe. These contain useful material, which might provide additional information to historians seeking to reconstruct Manipuri history. Finally there are those accounts which are drawn from group or family memories and traditions. Some of these may contain useful historical data, but they need to be treated critically. However, none of the *Puyas* is dated, all are anonymous, and no serious textual-critical work has as yet been carried out on them. Until this is done they cannot be regarded as reliable sources or assigned to a particular historical period. Furthermore very few have, as far as I am aware, been published in the original *Meetei Mayek* (as opposed to Bengali

transliteration). Thus there is no way that the researcher can properly assess their historical worth. A number of the more important of these Mss (e.g. *Ningthourol Lambuba, Bamon Khunthok, Poireiteon Khunthok*) have been used by Manipuri writers as though they were reliable sources. This is not justified. In our present state of knowledge the *Meetei Mayek* Mss have to be used with extreme care and with healthy scepticism.[20] None possesses the kind of authentic characteristics which we meet in the *Ch.K.* A full critical and historical examination of these Mss is a very urgent task facing Manipuri scholars.

After the defeat of Manipur in 1891 the British administrator, Maxwell, instructed the court to provide him with an English version of the *Ch.K.* This task was undertaken not by a Meetei but by a Bengali clerk, Bamacharan.[21] The translation was subsequently published by L.Joychandra Singh as his own compilation under the title *The Lost Kingdom* (1995). Even a cursory glance at the contents makes it clear that this version is unreliable. It shows pronounced signs of Hinduising, it lacks large sections of the *P. Ms* version and substantially alters others, and it has some curious additions which were probably meant to please the British.[22] The *maichous* no doubt deliberately released to Bamacharan only enough to satisfy Maxwell, and preserved the authentic chronicle for themselves. Nor could they have checked his translation, since they knew no English. This version is of very limited value to the historian.

An English version projected in the 1950s by Wahengbam Yumjao Singh (best known for his work on the spurious copper plates: see Parratt 1980:104–9) seems not to have come to fruition (Yumjao 1966:ii–iii). This would have included the *Meetei Mayek* text transcribed into Latin characters, an English translation and a Bengali transliteration. It is not clear whether the latter was to have been Madhab's version.

Translation issues

Meeteiron (Manipuri) is spoken by all the people in Manipur as well as those Manipuris of the diaspora who had taken domicile in an earlier stage in other parts of India, Myanmar and Bangla Desh. Meeteiron in its earlier form is reflected in the language used in the earlier section of the *Ch.K.* and in the ancient oral religious lyrics which are still used in the *Lai Haraoba* festival, as well as in the hymns to *Sanamahi*. The language used in the Kumpapa after Hinduisation in the reign of Garibniwaz (Sak. 1631–1670/1709–1748 CE and especially from Sak. 1659/1737 CE) has a few loan words from Bengali and Sanskrit. But the text in this volume generally represents a purer form of Meeteiron largely uninfluenced by the languages of the surrounding peoples.

A translation of the *Ch.K.* into English is a task which is fraught with many difficulties, occasioned both by the nature of the Mss and by the language used by the writers. The language problems affect especially the earlier part of the *Ch.K.*, where archaisms are frequent. Because of the way in which the Meetei script is written—absence of subjects or objects in some sentences, lacking spacing between words, capital letters, punctuation within sentences, paragraphing and headings—it is not always easy to get a sense of the structure of the sentences. The numerals used to indicate the Sakabda year (written in Bengali), and the convention in the *P. Ms* and other Mss of indicating the end of a year by a bold dot with pairs of vertical lines on either side, are of some

assistance. In some cases these double vertical lines also appear at the end of a word or a phrase, in which case the phrase has to be understood as a complete sentence.

The style of the language is also problematic. Sentences are often very short, cryptic and enigmatic. The formation of verbal forms also causes translation difficulties. There is, for example, no distinction between active and passive forms of the verb, or between singular and plural, or gender forms. On the other hand, inflections of the verb, which subtly change its basic meaning, are frequent. Very often sentences have no subject and may contain just two words. For example *lan ngamye* 'was victorious (in the battle)' or *lan phai* 'captured in battle'.[23] In these two examples it is left to the translator to determine whether the verb is active or passive, and thus to decide who exactly defeated or captured whom. Only the context—itself also usually very cryptic—can give a clue to the meaning. Furthermore 'prepositions' in Meeteiron are technically 'postpositions' and take the form of suffixes, and the meanings of some words are determined by the suffix. Most of the records in the earlier section are written as spoken, rather than in a literary style.

Several frequently used words have more than one meaning, and either meaning could be correct in the context, e.g. *lam thokye* could be translated either as 'taking a stroll' or 'taking part in and presiding over a ceremonial procession'. When the verb is used only with a proper name, either translation could be correct. Another problem concerns the ambiguity of some letters which are also used as vowels. Confusingly, the same vowel-letter may be read in more than one way, giving possible readings of two quite different words. Because of complexities such as these the translator has no choice but to take the most likely reading within the context. I have given alternative translations in the notes where appropriate.

As with most languages, many words have no exact English equivalent. For example, *khapye* means 'to throw up and down as when one winnows rice after husking'. When used in the context of a village which has been invaded the implication of the word is that 'the people were shaken like grains being cleansed in a winnowing basket.' But this is to put a whole sentence in place of one word, and thus fails accurately to reflect the cryptic nature of the original. A few words are so archaic that the meaning is irrecoverable. In such cases I have indicated a probable translation. These are, of course, common problems for translators of archaic texts. In the case of Meeteiron (Manipuri) the difficulties are exacerbated by the lack of reliable lexical aids.[24]

What is the value of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* as history?

An English version of the *Ch.K.* is of importance not only for research into the history of Manipur but also for that of India and South East Asia as a whole. There is not only important information in it about present-day Myanmar, Assam, Tripura, Bengal and Bangla Desh, but also mention of Chinese and Muslim movements, and references to kingdoms (like that of Pong and other Shan states) which no longer exist.

The *Ch.K.* is, of course, an official royal history and its main purpose is to record the events of state and the actions of the kings. In that sense it is (like all historical writing) biased in its selection of material and in the way it records that material. However, on the whole there is no attempt to praise the kings, and in fact the recording is very flat and

factual. The possibility of a later editing of events by rival successors cannot be excluded, but seems to me unlikely. There is no attempt to write previous kings out of history. However, (with the exception of Garibniwaz) the manner of death of the kings is not given.

The earlier part of the material before the reign of Ningthoukhompa—roughly the part reconstructed in the time of Bhagyachandra (from 33 CE to Sak. 1354/1432 CE)—contains material which must be regarded as legendary. The borderline between history and myth is of course scarcely as sharp in ancient and some Eastern civilisations as in Western historiography. Some of this early material consists of aetiological legends—constructed narratives which give the supposed origins of place or personal names. While this is not historical in the strict sense, it does give an insight into the world-view of the writers and may contain clues to real events. In this respect the opening passage regarding Pakhangpa, the ancestor-founder of the Meeteis, is especially interesting. This seems to be a kind of structural-historical myth, the purpose of which is to reinforce the supremacy of the Pakhangpa group over a rival group led by one Poireiton. Poireiton most likely represents the autochthonous people of the land (perhaps the present-day Chakpa). There is some evidence that these people, whom one might term 'proto-Meetei', may have had a matriarchal system. According to the *Ch.K.* Pakhangpa married Laisna, Poireiton's sister, and this probably reflects an alliance between the incoming conquerors (the Pakhangpa group) and the subjugated original inhabitants of the land (the Poireiton group). In an obscure passage Laisna requests that she may become a *lai* (divinity) like Pakhangpa, but is refused. Presumably this is meant as a statement of the supremacy of the Pakhangpa group. Social order is established by mythical history.

According to *Ningthourol Lambuba*, a much later and much less structured chronicle, the name of the land which is now called Manipur was Poirei Lamtam (Land of Poirei) and later it came to be called Poirei Meetei Lamtam (Land of Poirei Meetei). Meetei is very likely the name given to the incomers by the Poireiton group, who by then had become the autochthones of the land. There is no clear evidence when the name Manipur was given to the land, but it is almost certainly a name given to the country by Indians, not a self-designation.[25]

After the time of Kyampa the material becomes more straightforward, and there are detailed statements about political and religious events, immigrations, and other notable events of state, as well as astrological events such as eclipses and the appearances of comets. From the period when we begin to have British records (the 1830s) the accuracy of the *Ch.K.* is substantially confirmed. The *Ch.K.* is thus not only the main source for reconstructing Manipur's history, but is also a substantially reliable one.

This volume comprises the first part of the chronicle, that is, from 33 CE to 1763 CE, from the beginning of the Meetei dynasty up to the first contact with the British East India Company. It is hoped that the remainder will be published in due course.

A note on the translation

No translation can adequately convey the complete richness of a language, but I have tried as far as possible to reflect the style of the language of the original in translation, especially where it is cryptic and compressed.

Some entries show that the recording was done after the events, e.g. '*Shicha Soukaicham ongpi pokye'*, 'Sicha who was (later) married into the Soukaicham family was born.'

Where they have become part of place names, some Meeteiron terms such as *ching* (hill), *khong* (canal), *thong* (bridge), *pan* (barricade), *pung* (mound) and so on have been retained along with their English equivalents. Some other untranslatable technical terms and names of e.g. *pung, yuthak* (measures of time) have also been kept. (See further the note on time measurement p. 154.) Kangla has been retained to denote the palace complex.

The Meetei lunar months have no exact equivalent in the Western calendar, but I have added the nearest equivalents.

No diacritical marks have been used.

Spellings of all proper nouns including names of places, positions and titles have followed the spelling as found in the *P. Ms* text even where these are not consistent and do not correspond to modern usage. This will also illustrate how the language evolved and new sounds were adopted.

Meetei names for posts and titles have been retained (see glossary).

I have inserted headings in bold type indicating the name of the king and period of his reign. The *cheithapa* name and the lunar months are also set out in bold.

The explanatory notes are situated at the end of each regnal year for ease of reference.

Notes

1 Who included L.Ibungohal Singh (1963) and R.K.Jhalajit Singh (1965).

2 See below.

3 Acharya (1966). The most accessible translated *Buranjis* are Golap Chandra Barua (1930) and Bhuyan (1968).

4 Pe Maung Tin and Luce (1923).

5 The only exception is a reference to 'Manipur Kangleipak' in the reign of Taothingnang (Sak. 186/264 CE), which must be a later editorial insertion. 'Kangla' was dedicated only in Sak. 1444 (1522 CE) and 'Manipur' is not used at all until the British period. The earlier British sources use 'Meckley' rather than Manipur.

6 According to the entry for Sak. 440/518 CE Thamanglang was the originator of the Ningthoucha family name or *Ningthoucha yimnak:* Thamanglang, though a prince, did not become king, but his family name became Ningthoucha, meaning 'child of the king' or 'descendant of the king'. This family name was later expanded and given even to those who had only distant royal connections and were not necessarily direct descendants of kings.

7 We also find two exact dates in the reign of Kyampa's father, Ningthoukhompa. These dates are the birth of Kyampa, which coincided with the invasion of the land by the Tangkhul Hao (probably the present Tangkhuls), and the death of the king. These were dates which would have been remembered in Kyampa's time. These are the only dates recorded prior to the institution of the *cheithapa*. The Sakabda dates for the pre-Kyampa period are clearly a later editorial addition.

8 The Sakabda era derives from the Shakas or Scythians, who originated in Bactria and established themselves in India in the first century CE. The usual understanding is that the beginning of the Sak. era, 78 CE, marked the first year of Kanishka's rule. In fact Kanishka was not a Hindu but a Buddhist.

9 The *Ch.K.* entry reads: 'The year of Nanteipa Lokhon, Sak. 1682 (1760 CE) 12 Thursday Hiyangkei (October/November) as Maharaja Jai Singh (another name for Bhagyachandra)

along with Bhagabati Thakur, Kabo Khunbongmayum Cha Muniram Singh and Sidananda, these three who were the servants of the king, after having consulted with their lord, (the king) established an era of the land of Meetei Kangleipak. After having established the era they also introduced a new almanac *(Chandrabda)*. The year of (the new era) was taken to be 971 of the (Kangleipak) era.'

10 This Chandrabda era alone was used in the recording for twenty-eight years in the *Ch.K.* from Chandrabda 1018–1046 (Sak. 1728–1756/1806–1834 CE).

11 There is a tradition, not contained in the *Ch.K.*, which has it that during the reign of Garibniwaz his guru Shanti Das burnt all the Mss in the archaic Meetei script in the interests of his Hinduising programme in 1732 CE. See note 19 (Sak. 1654) for the textual evidence for this, which was presumably fabricated to support the tradition. However, it is clear many Mss must have survived, and *Meetei Mayek* continued to be used (notably for the *Ch.K.*).

12 The same kind of body symbolism is applied to the geography of the valley and in the traditional dance rituals of the Lai Haraoba festival (Parratt and Parratt 1997:100).

13 'Sak. 1876 (1954 CE) in the year of Aoinam Aamujao, **Yingen** (June/July), 8 Friday as the royal command was given to copy leaf page 553 and leaf pages 762 to 798 of the *Ch.K.* as they were disintegrating, the task were carried out by Tanachandra (Dinachandra) pandit (pundit). Sak. 1877 (1955 CE): in the year of Aamom (Aangom) Aangangthonjao, 2 **Langpan** (August/September) Friday, Srijut Bodhchandra Maharajah, who is also titled Huyen Keiren Lanta Thoupa (the chief of the soldiers and the commoners, the brave one), after having listened to all the chronicle which had been read (to him), he also checked it and declared it to be correct. He also had declared the words in the (copies) of *Kumpapa* which are then in the housing areas should not be accepted as authoritative. He declared that the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* which is housed in the royal palace alone is the only definitive chronicle and only the words written in it will be accepted as authoritative. Saying this Srijut put the royal seal with his own royal hands on each page of the chronicle. Those who were on royal duty on that occasion were Waikhom Chaoba Singh, member (of the palace court), who was the Political Secretary to the king, Thoitangcham Gouramani the *Senlungpa*, who was also the Personal Attendant to the king, and Thongam Madhab Singh, the Palace Pandit. These three persons were given the royal order to be on duty on that occasion. They were on duty and they were involved (in putting the royal seal).' The writing on the seal, 'His Highness the Maharajah Manipur', is legible on the leaves of the original Ms.

14 *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) (Imphal, 1987), publisher's note, pp. i–iii.

15 'According to the royal command of the late Meeteingu Sir Churachand Singh, KCSI, CBE (the *Cheitharol Kumbaba*) which was in the royal palace and written in the *Meetei Mayek* (script) was transliterated into Bengali script by Thongam Shri Madhab Singh pundit and was presented to the king. We have printed it ourselves and are responsible for any mistakes. The late king had met all the cost.'

16 It must have been later than 1941, since it was published after Churachand's death, but before 1964, since Atombapu Sharma, known for his aggressive sanskritisation of Meetei traditions, published a short pamphlet on the *Ch.K.* before he died in 1964 in which he acknowledged he had published Madhab's transliteration. (See previous note.)

17 A previous political agent, Christopher Gimson, had left funding for publication but the bank deposit seems to have gone missing.

18 A lawyer and author of one of the earliest books in English on Manipur by a Meetei, *Introduction to Manipur* (1963).

19 Some random examples of such insertions in the *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) which are not in *P. Ms* nor in *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (i) will illustrate the problem:

Sak. 1436. Inserts 'Govindachandra the scribe arrived from Takhen'.

Sak. 1438. Inserts 'one Bamon (brahmin) arrived from Tekhao'.

Sak. 1439. Inserts ‘Astrologer Vakirot arrived’.

(All these insertions seek to push back the advent of Hinduism in Manipur earlier than evidence warrants.)

Sak. 1440. Inserts ‘Mayang who wanted to own a village arrived’.

Sak. 1536. Inserts two extra markets, viz. Awang keithen and Sekta keithen are inserted in the list of the markets which were inaugurated in this year.

Sak. 1543. An alteration of text in *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) which is incomprehensible: in place of ‘the playing of hockey *(kangchei)* by the Meeteis began at that period’ it reads ‘the playing of *kang* by the Meetie household *(meetei yumpumna)* by striking it *(kangyeina)* began at that period’.

Sak. 1550. Inserts ‘(the jogi and his wife) were settled in Yairipok’.

Sak. 1550. Changes the phrase *mathan hamme* to *hangamye*. *Hangamye* could give the meaning that those who found the masks also found them empty, whereas *mathan hamme* implies that the masks were emptied and washed of the contents, the skulls. Probably the gold and silver masks were brought as a booty.

Sak. 1552. *‘ningkham phurit leiren leichao’: leichao* added in the text without using a bracket, in describing the *ningkham* shirt.

Sak. 1623. The month of Thawan has a fuller entry.

Sak. 1638, 4 *Phairen.* inserts ‘(the people of) Tekhao went back.’

Sak. 1654, 17 *Langpan*. Altered *Leima* to *Lairik*. The sentence *Meetei Leima manghanye* has been altered to *Meetei Lairik manghanye*. By changing one word, *leima* (queen) to *lairik* (books), *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) gives textual support for the tradition of the burning of Meetei books. *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (i), *P. Ms* and *Din. Ms* all have *Leima*.

Sak. 1659. *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) has ‘3,000 people took the sacred thread’ against 300 in *P. Ms* and *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (i).

Sak. 1661. *LI & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) inserts extra material beginning from sentence 1 p. 101 to sentence 11 p. 102, a total of fourteen sentences. The language of the inserted portion is not of the same style as the entries of the *Ch.K.* on the whole. It is more poetic and very near to

the style of the *Ningthourol Lambuba* (a later chronicle), though a quotation from this chronicle is also in the footnote.

Sak. 1668, *Langpan.* Inserts '11 (the festival of) Rath Jatra began'.

20 There have been spectacular forgeries, e.g. *Govinda Sangeet Leela Vilasa:* a Ms written in Sanskrit and falsely passed off as the work of Maharaja Bhaigyachandra. (See N.Kerani Singh, ed., *Govinda Sangeet Leela Vilasa: A Concoction,* Imphal, 1972.)

21 British Library O & IOC Ms EUR D485. This copy apparently fell into the hands of Hodson (a previous president of the Manipur State Durbar), who donated it to the British Museum in 1946. The title page reads 'State diary of Manipur, typewritten at the State Office by Nithon Nath Banerjee 1904'. According to the entry for 10 Yinga (May/June) 1891 CE in this translated version 'Babu Bama Charan Mukherjee commenced translating the state chronicle into English. Taoriah Hidang Pandit and Sarang Panjee Laloopchingba interpreted the chronicle.' We must assume this is not translation in the strict sense, since Mukherjee would not have been able to read the original, but rather an oral rendering (suitably modified) by the pundits, which Mukherjee then drafted into (somewhat defective) English. Mukherjee was the secretary to Maharaja Kulachandra, who was deposed in 1891. The corresponding entry in the *P. Ms* reads: 'Sak. 1813 (1891 CE), 17 Monday **Kalen** (April/May), (Maxwell) ordered the pandits of the Maiba Institute to bring back the *Ch.K.* and it was brought back and kept in Kangla (i.e. palace). **Yinga** (May/June) 8 Monday, they began to write the *Ch.K.* sitting in Kangla. Twelve people from the Maiba (scribes) and Panji (astrologers) Institutes copied the *Ch.K.* into Bangla (Bengali script). 24 Monday, most of the books which were housed originally in the Ras Mandal (in the Kangla complex), and which had been taken to the housing areas, were collected by Khuraijamba the *Lalup Chingba* and they were brought back. 9 **Yingen** (June/July) Wednesday, the *Maiba* and the *Panji*, these two groups completed the writing (the copying into Bengali script) of the Puran *(Ch.K.)*. 10 Thursday, the Sankranti of the month began. There was an earthquake on that day and on the same day Bamacharan Babu began to copy (translate) the *Ch.K.* into English. Taoriya the *Hitang* and Sarang *Panchi* the astrologer, these two were given permission to join the work. But the rest were suspended and were forbidden to join the work.'

22 E.g. 'Quinton's tombstone arrived. It was beautiful to look at.' Quinton was a former Chief Commissioner of Assam who had been put to death during the conflict in 1891.

23 *Ngamye* and *phai* are in the present indicative, which is here equivalent to the present historic in Greek.

24 Only three Manipuri to English dictionaries exist, by Gordon (1837) and Ningthoukhongjam Khelachandra (1964, 1978). All have limited vocabulary.

25 Earlier names include Kangleipak and Meeteileipak (*pak/bak* for land). Even in the mid-nineteenth century the inhabitants did not use Manipur to designate the country. A letter written in Meetei script to the Viceroy of India in May 1868 by Maharajah Chandra Kriti of Manipur is dated '1790 (Sakabda) Mahe 11 Kalen'. 'Mahe' is here the name of the country. Pemberton, writing in 1835, noted the country was variously called Kathe, Moglei, Meklee or Cassay.

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LIST OF KINGS

King	*Sak.*	*CE*
Meetingu Pakhangpa		33
Khuyoi Tompok	76	154
Taothingmang	186	264
Meetingu Khui Ningngonpa	286	364
Pengsipa	301	379
Kaokhongpa	316	394
Naokhampa	333	411
Naophangpa	350	428
Sameirang	440	518
Meetingu Konthoupa	490	568
Interregnum		
Naothingkhong	585	663
Meetingu Khongtekcha	685	763
Interregnum		
Keirencha	706	784
Meetingu Yarapa	721	799
Meetingu Aayangpa	743	821
Ningthoucheng	832	910
Meetingu Chenglei Yipan Lanthapa	871	949
Meetingu Yanglou Keiphapa	891	969
Yirengpa	906	984
Meetingu Loiyumpa	996	1074
Meetingu Loitongpa	1044	1122
Meetingu Aatom Yoirempa	1072	1150
Meetingu Yiwanthapa	1085	1163
Meetingu Thawanthapa	1117	1195
Meetingu Chingthang Lanthapa	1153	1231
Thingpai Senhongpa	1164	1242

Meetingu Puranthapa	1169	1247
Meetingu Khumompa	1185	1263
Meetingu Moirampa	1200	1278
Meetingu Thangpi Lanthapa	1224	1302
Meetingu Kongyampa	1246	1324
Meetingu Tenheipa	1257	1335
Meetingu Tonapa	1277	1355
Meetingu Tapungpa	1281	1359
Meetingu Lairenpa	1316	1394
Interregnum		
Meetingu Punsipa	1326	1404
Meetingu Ningthoukhompa	1354–1389	1432–1467
Meetingu Kyampa	1389–1430	1467–1508
Meetingu Koirempa	1430–1433	1508–1511
Meetingu Lam Kyampa	1434–1445	1512–1523
Meetingu Nongyinphapa	1445–1446	1523–1524
Meetingu Kapompa	1446–1464	1524–1542
Meetingu Tangchampa	1464–1467	1542–1545
Meetingu Chalampa	1467–1484	1545–1562
Meetingu Mungyampa	1484–1519	1562–1597
Meetingu Khakempa	1519–1574	1597–1652
Meetingu Khunchaopa	1574–1588	1652–1666
Meetingu Paikhompa	1588–1619	1666–1697
Meetingu Charairongpa	1619–1631	1697–1709
Meetingu Mayampa (Garibniwaz)	1631–1670	1709–1748
Chit Sai	1670–1673	1748–1751
Meetingu Sangkoitapa Bharat Sai	1674	1752
Meetingu Marampa*	1675–1681	1753–1759
Meetingu Chingthangkhompa*	1681–1682	1759–1760
Meetingu Marampa	1683–1685	1761–1763

* Alternating kingship.

MANIPURI LUNAR MONTHS

With their approximate equivalents in the Western calendar

Sachiphu March/April
Kalen April/May
Yinga May/June
Yingen June/July
Thawan July/August
Langpan August/September
Mera September/October
Hiyangkei October/November
Poinu November/December
Wakching December/January
Phairen January/February
Lamta February/March

PART TWO

THE *CHEITHARON KUMPAPA* THE COURT CHRONICLE OF THE MEETEI KINGS OF MANIPUR (KANGLEIPAK): ENGLISH TRANSLATION

MEETINGU PAKHANGPA, KALI AGE 3135 (33 CE)

Bowing down before the Lord of the universe,[1] let the writing of the Cheitharon Kumpapa[2] be begun and let there be no offence. In the Kali age[3] *(Kalyabda)* 3135, Meetingu[4] Pakhangpa[5] became king. After taking Laisna[6] to wife and after staying together for a long time, as a *lai*[7] by day and as a human by night, one night Laisna challenged him that his (Pakhangpa's) being a *lai* during the daytime meant that he had a lover. Then Laisna said that she also wanted to be a *lai*. To this Pakhangpa replied to her, saying that since she came with Poireiton[8] at the time of Poireiton settlement, she could be only human and not a *lai*. As for him, as he came down from the heavens above,[9] he could be both *lai* and human at the same time. The forty-fifth year of Pakhangpa's reign was the beginning of the Sakabda era.[10] Meetingu Pakhangpa reigned 120 years.

1 *Anji, Shri.* The writing of the chronicle starts with an invocation acknowledging the Lord of the universe as the Creator of all. Meetei invocation sign *Anji* prefaces the actual writing in almost all the ancient Meetei writings accompanied with the formula 'that the Creator may not be offended'. *Anji* has a double curve which indicates the dual cosmic role of the Creator. The *sanskrit* honorific term *Shri* meaning splendid, glorious, mighty follows the *Anji* symbol. *Shri* must be a later scribal insertion after the Hinduisation of Manipur.

2 *Cheitharon kumpapu. P. Ms* text, a shortened form of *Cheitharon Kumpapapu*. The term *Cheitharon* is a conflation of *chei* stick, *thaba* to put down, *ron/rol* words, what is being said or written; and *Kumpapa* a conflation of *kum* period, *pa* short for, *papa* to read, *pu* postposition to indicate the object of the sentence. The phrase literally means 'stick which is put down to aid in the reading of what has been recorded within the period'. The symbolism of using sticks representing a base number in counting in day-to-day life has been used. Later, when each year began to be named after a particular person, he was given the title the 'cheithapa' of that year.

3 According to this dating *Kali* age 3135 is 33 CE. Thus Pakhangpa began to reign in 33 CE. This reckoning must have taken place only after the acceptance of the Sakabda dating. (See Introduction.)

4 *Meetingu.* Conflation of two words: *Meetei*, the Meetei people, *Yingu*, lord: lord of the Meetei people or the sovereign king of the *Meetei*s. After the adoption of Bengali script the ee and ei came to be used interchangeably, *Meetei* was changed to *Meitei*. t was later replaced by d and *Meetingu* became *Meidingu*. (See Introduction.)

5 *Pakhangpa* is commonly interpreted as a conflation of two words, *pa* father, *khangpa* to know, one who knows his father, found in a myth of Sanamahi and Pakhangpa encircling the throne of Atiya Guru Sidapa. This is clearly a much later Hinduised etiological myth. After the replacement of p by b the spelling became Pakhangba. A more likely interpretation

would be to take *Pakhang* youth with *pa,* honorific male ending, signifying male strength and virility.

6 *Laisna,* lit. *Lai* divine, Sna for *Sana* gold, hence golden goddess. *Sana* came to be used for the title of a king or a queen and then of those of royal lineage.

7 *lai:* more than human, divinity. '*Lai* by day and as a human by night.' If this passage is interpreted as historical structural myth, the implication is that the Poireiton group (see below) represented by Laisna, suspected the dominant group (Pakhangpa) of making other political alliances. Pakhangpa's response emphasises his own dominance over the Poireiton group in a claim to divine kingship ('came down from heavens'). This phrase may also mean his followers descended to the valley from the mountains surrounding the Manipur valley. Very likely Poireiton represents a group which migrated to the Manipur valley prior to Pakhangpa and was then subjected by him. Pakhangpa claimed divine kingship which Poireiton could not claim.

8 Poireiton. According to the Ms *Poireiton Khunthok,* Poireiton was in search of a land where there is no sickness or death and finally settled in Manipur with a retinue of his followers. He is also regarded as having brought the fire in Andro, in the eastern part of the valley, which is believed to have been kept burning since then.

His name could also be taken to mean the last (*ton,* short form of *atonba,* last one) of the Poirei. Poirei may be the name of either the incoming migrant group or the land they are coming to. He is also referred to as Chingkhong Poireiton (Poireiton of the foot of the hill) in *Ningthourol Lambuba,* indicating his settlement in the plains.

Whether Poireiton's settlement was the last of the migrant settlers, assuming there were several waves of settlers, or last of the group of Poirei to settle, the text still suggests that his settlement was prior to Pakhangpa's group, and was found well established in the plains by the Pakhangpa group.

According to oral tradition Poirei was another name for Manipur. Meetei referred to 'other people', the incoming Pakhangpa group (*mee* people, *atei* other, not one of us). This is supported by the entries in *Ningthourol Lambuba* according to which by the time of Taothingmang (264 CE) the land was referred to as Poirei Meetei. This presumably indicates the coming together of these two groups, Poireiton and Pakhangpa.

The presence of the fire from Andro in the coronation ceremony of the Meetei kings in the later period may have originally signified the subjugation of Poireiton by the Pakhangpa group. Pakhangpa authenticated his kingship by taking over a ritual belonging to the Poirei. Andro is a Chakpa area and the Chakpa are regarded as the autochthonous people of Manipur who should be identified with the earlier settlement of Poireiton.

There is an account of Poireiton's *khunthokpa* or settlement written in the Meetei script, probably around the period of Khakempa, but it cannot be accepted as historical. Since the *Kumpapa* was compiled from the Meetei kings' standpoint, it is natural to find almost all the information being centred on the exploits and achievements of the Meetei kings, and Pakhangpa was the founder of this line of kings.

9 'he came down from the heavens above'. See note 6. This also could refer to the settlement in the Koubru (Kouparu) hills, considered to be the first settlement according to religious lyrics. In this, Pakhangpa's group claimed a settlement which originally belonged to the Chapka and Poireiton.

10 Sakabda era. See Introduction.

KHUIYOI TOMPOK, SAKABDA 76 (154 CE)

Sakabda 76 (154 CE). Khuiyoi Tompok began to reign. In his reign they stretched the skin of a deer to make the *pung*.[1] When it was tried out, it produced the sound similar to the sound made by a deer. Then they stretched the skin of a tiger and it produced the sound similar to that made by a tiger. Then, after that, they stretched a cattle skin and when it was beaten, it produced the correct sound of a *pung*.

1 *pung:* a term used for a drum. *Meetei pung* is barrel-shaped, wider in circumference at the middle.

TAOTHINGMANG, SAKABDA 186 (264 CE)

Sakabda 186 (264 CE). Taothingmang began to reign. In his reign Taothingmang and his elder brother Yoimongpa[1] dredged most of the rivers of Manipur Kangleipak.[2] In the course of the dredging as soon as (they) arrived at Lilong, a man by the name of Phunal Tenheipa[3] told them that they could not dig the river in his land. So the elder brother, Yoimongpa, turned westward and continued digging. When his younger brother, Taothingmang, (arrived at Lilong and) asked Phunal Tenheipa how long it was since his brother had left, he was told that his brother had left quite a considerable time ago. To this Taothingmang asked if he could take a short cut through his land. This was refused by Phunal Tenheipa saying that Taothingmang was forbidden from going through his land. The two fought. Phunal Tenheipa shot an arrow at Taothingmang. As Taothingmang's intestines became exposed, blood poured out from the wound and ran down in a crimson stream. Thus that place was named Nganglou.[4] Then Taothingmang left to follow his elder brother. When they arrived in the village of Lokkha Haokha[5] in the southern region, the people in that region asked as to the purpose of the two brothers' visit. The brothers were told that in their land *Kakyen*,[6] which overpowers men, had been carrying men off, and because of that, no one was able to move about or go out in the open. And after the people had warned them that the *Kakyen* might catch them, the two royal brothers[7] set up a trap and caught the *Kakyen* and killed it. They cut off its wings and one was put at the entrance of a cave and the other was used to dam up the waters of

the Loktak river[8] so that the river would not dry up completely. This place where the waters were dammed up was named Yithing.[9] After this, all the people of Lokkha Haokha became scared and lived in fear and trembling.[10] Taothingmang made this village become a tributary[11] to his kingdom and then left that village and returned back. He reigned for 100 years.

1 *Mayampa:* elder brother. This shows that there was no custom of primogeniture in *Manipur Kangleipak,* which is also confirmed in the case of several future kings. Alternatively Yoimongpa could have been a cousin or a half-brother.

2 Manipur Kangleipak. *Manipur* is a much later Sanskrit term. *Manipur* must be an insertion at the reign of Bhagyachandra when the lost portion of the *Ch.K.* was recompiled in Sak. 1702 (1780 CE.) *Kangleipak: kang* written above *leipak,* in the *P. Ms,* is a later scribal correction. *Ch.K.* records the establishment of Kangla at a much later date, Sak. 1444 (1522 CE) when Kangla was dedicated. *Ningthourol Lambuba* refers to the land as Poirei Meetei in place of Manipur Kangleipak. Taothingmang's territory apparently extended only up to Lilong, seventeen miles from Kangla.

3 *Phunal Tenheipa.* The name indicates that he was a man who lived in Phunal and excelled in archery. Phunal, in the eastern part of Manipur and near Lilong, was in the territory of the Aangom *yek,* one of the clans of the Meeteis confederacy. The story must be a historical myth reflecting Meetei attempts at expansion and conflict between rival groups, and perhaps over the water supply.

4 *Nganglou:* lit. red field. The place still bears this name and is located six miles from Imphal, the capital. It is an aetiological legend explaining how the place name was derived. Presumably reflects conflict between the two *yeks*.

5 Lokkha Haokha: a village in the area of Suknu (Sugnu) in the south.

6 *Kakyen Meengampa:* lit. *Kakyen* which overpowered man, from *mee* person, *ngampa* to overpower. Possibly a mythical bird, a common theme in many cultures. But the objective of the entry is to give the aetiological legend of Yithing and also why the Loktak does not dry up. Alternatively *Kakyen* may be a corrupt form of Khakyen, a Shan state in upper Burma, implying a conflict between the people of Manipur and those of Khakyen.

7 *Laiyingthou.* Conflation of two words: *lai* divinity, *ningthou* king. Here, the term is used to indicate royalty. Laiyingthou as an address to the king came to be used much later. The use of the term in this period must be due to the recompilation at Bhagyachandra's time.

8 Loktak river. The text mentions Loktak as a river. It could refer to the mouth of a river which empties in the Loktak lake, which is one of the biggest freshwater lakes in the region of northeast India. People depended on the waters of the rivers for survival and it was important that rivers did not dry up, hence the idea of retaining the water in the river by narrowing the mouth of the river leading to the lake. The narrative of Taothingmang and his brother dredging the rivers implies also deepening the river bed in order to hold the water as well as for good drainage.

9 Yithing. Conflation of two words: *yi* blood or water (liquid in this context), *thing* from *thingpa* to stop. Aetiological legend of Yithing, thirty miles from Imphal.

10 lived in fear and trembling. After the people of the area had been set free from the man-overpowering bird, why they came to live in fear and trembling is puzzling except that they felt insecure at their presence, 'i.e. to the brothers' whom they perceived as having supernatural powers.

11 *loi chanpa:* to conquer and make the place become a tribute-paying area to the conqueror. This method was used in the process of the formation of the Meetei kingdom.

MEETINGU KHUI NINGNGONPA, SAKABDA 286 (364 CE)

Sakabda 286 (364 CE). Meetingu[1] Khui Ningngonpa became king. He reigned for fifteen years.

1 *Meetingu:* designation for the king is resumed after the last two kings, who were not recorded as *Meetingu,* as in the case of some other succeeding kings. Either these kings were not from the *Meetei yek* or *Meetingu* may have been an honorific title applied initially to great kings.

PENGSIPA, SAKABDA 301 (379 CE)

Sakabda 301 (379 CE). Pengsipa became king. He reigned for fifteen years.

KAOKHONGPA, SAKABDA 316 (394 CE)

Sakabda 316 (394 CE). Kaokhongpa became king. He reigned for seventeen years.

NAOKHAMPA, SAKABDA 333 (411 CE)

Sakabda 333 (411 CE). Naokhampa became king. He reigned for seventeen years. These (kings) were like divinities and no one knew much about these seven persons[1] even as to how they disappeared or where they died.

1 seven persons: refers to the seven kings from Ningngompa to Naokhampa. Since this part was reconstructed from oral tradition, little information except the names has been preserved. They are the mythical semi-divine founders. There is no definite indication that they were of one dynasty. Most likely they were legends with different origins which have been conflated by the editors in Bhagyachandra's time. Some books written in Meetei script of a later date expand on these legends. Naokhampa (meaning 'last begotten') was the last of these semi-divine kings.

NAOPHANGPA, SAKABDA 350 (428 CE)

Sakabda 350 (428 CE). Naophangpa[1] became king. From this time onwards the activities are all on the human level. He took two maidens Kaireima and Yaorei to wife. Kameira gave birth to Sameirang[2] and Yaoreipa maiden gave birth to Thamanglang. Naophangpa reigned for ninety years.

1 Naophangpa literally means one who had descendants. *Nao* descendant, *phangpa* to get. *Chengleiron,* compiled at a later date on the Chenglei *yek* (clan), gives more details with probable historical reconstruction.

2 First reference to begetting the next king.

SAMEIRANG, SAKABDA 440 (518 CE)

Sakabda 440 (518 CE). Sameirang became king. Thamanglang was the originator of the *Ningthoucha* family name.[1] There was a battle with the Aangoms. In the battle, Kwakpa Thawanthapa the king of Aangom[2] was killed and the land of the Aangoms became a tributary. The feast of merit for the brave and the strong was also performed for the first time in his reign. Meetingu Sameirang reigned for fifty years.

1 *Ningthoucha yimnak:* Ningthoucha: *ningthou* king, *cha* child of, *yimnak* name of the family. Hence Ningthoucha is the family name of the kings. Thamanglang, though a prince, did not become king. So his family name became *Ningthoucha,* child of the king or descendant of the king. This family name was later expanded and given even to those who have only distant royal connections and are not necessarily direct descendants of kings.

2 Aangom king. The Aangom was one of the seven (or nine) *yeks* which occupied Manipur, having their own distinctive principalities. There was a long struggle for power between all these *yeks* until the *yeks* formed a confederate kingdom, with the Meeteis as the dominant group which provided the king. The principal Meetei queen was always to be found from the Aangom *yek.*

MEETINGU KONTHOUPA, SAKABDA 490 (568 CE)

Sakabda 490 (568 CE). Meetingo[1] Konthoupa began to reign. When (the people from) Senloi Langmai[2] came down to raid the areas of the Khunpham and Ngangcheng in the Haokap hill range,[3] on their way they overpowered Katem Soisangpa, the servant of Ura Konthoupa.[4] In order to take revenge on them for their action, the Meeteis[5] ambushed the Senloi Langmai on their return from their devastation of the villages of Khunpham and Ngangching in the Haokap hill range. Almost all of them were killed by the river Naga.[6] Out of those who went to attack only ten from the same family line[7] escaped alive. Konthoupa reigned ninety years. There was no king for five years after him.

1 Meetingo: alternative spelling of Meetingu.

2 Senloi Langmai. According to the later British records Senloi were those who paid tribute in *Sen* bell metal coinage (Meetei currency). Another possibility is that Sen could be a corruption of San (or Shan. Meetei script did not have sh till late.) By the time of Bhagyachandra, when the recompilation took place, Senloi Langmai was a well-established name.

3 Haokap hill range. The Haokap hills and the village of Ngangcheng are in the Langol hill range, in western Manipur.

4 Ura Konthoupa. Same as Konthoupa. As there is no mention of his parents, as there was in the case of Naophangpa's descendants, it is possible that he could have been of a different line.

5 Meeteis. The first time this term is used in the text to indicate the people. It refers to the Pakhangpa group of immigrants who arrived at a later period and were referred to as 'other people' (*mee* people, *atei* other) by the original inhabitants and earlier settlers like the Poireiton group.

6 Naga river: possibly a later name. The river between the villages of Terapokpi and Matai. Possibly the Naga river which runs through the Imphal area is a continuation of this river and hence bears the same name.

7 *pu amataki: pu* grandparents, ancestor, *amataki* one. Same family line.

NAOTHINGKHONG, SAKABDA 585 (663 CE)

Sakabda 585 (663 CE). Naothingkhong became king.[1] In Sakabda 620[2] (698 CE) Samlung, the younger brother of Sukanpha,[3] the king of Pong,[4] after having annexed to his kingdom all the lands up to Pasa,[5] returned by way of the land of the Meeteis. He stayed in the Aapong[6] compound for ten years. He returned by way of the north, which led to the source of the Yiril river.[7] Naothingkhong reigned for 100 years.

1 The *P. Ms* has a scribal numbering of kings, beginning with Naothingkhong, who is given the tenth position in the list of kings. This numbering ends at the reign of Punsipa, the thirty-sixth king. Since the *cheithapa* was introduced in the reign of the second king from Punshipa, the scribal numbering of the kings probably became unnecessary.

Naothingkhong. According to *Ningthourol Lambuba*, Ura Konthoupa had two wives and the first wife had four sons, of whom the third son was Naothingkhong, who succeeded his father. No tradition of primogeniture.

2 Sak. 620. First time any dating appears within the text. Clearly a later editorial calculation after the adoption of the Sakabda era.

3 Samlung the younger brother of Sukanpha, the king of Pong. 'In the year 777 A.D. Murgnou died leaving two sons, called Sookampha and Samlongpha, of whom the eldest Sookampha succeeded to the throne of Pong. Samlong, the second brother, was dispatched by Sukampha at the head of a powerful force, to subdue, first the countries to the eastward, including the principality of Bhumo, which extends from the left bank of Irrawattee (Irawadhi) river to the frontier of Yunan: This expedition was successful, and Samlongpha again leaving Maongamarong, is described as having arrived in the western country of Basa king, which probably means Banga' (Pemberton 1835:113). According to *Soranen Machana Khunkumba amasung Meeteiga Ponga Lamyen* (the descent of the son of the sky to the inhabited areas and the sharing out of the land between the Meeteis and the Pongs), the Meeteiron version of the Pong chronicle, the visit of Samlong the prince of Pong took place during the reign of Meetingu Khongtekcha, the next king, CE 765–785. This is nearer to Pemberton's dating.

4 Pong. 'The Shan kingdom of Pong was formerly bounded on the north by the range of hills dividing Burma from Assam; south it extended to Khampat; west to the Yoma range; east to the Yunan. The capital was Mogoung. After varying fortunes, it was annexed to Burma in 1752.' Captain E.W.Dunn, *Gazetteer of Manipur* (1886:188).

5 Pasa: probably Basa for Bangla or Bengal, which Pemberton has indicated as mentioned above. In Meeteiron b and p were used interchangeably.

6 *Aapong yingkhon:* Aapong compound, on the eastern side of Kangla, the capital. A, the prefix to Pong, is honorific.

7 Source of the Yiril river. As Samlung followed the route of the river Yiril he probably also wanted to find out the source of the river. In the absence of a clear-cut international highway, the course of the river was probably the safest way of bearing in the right direction.

MEETINGU KHONGTEKCHA, SAKABDA 685 (763 CE)

Sakabda 685 (763 CE). Meetingu Khongtekcha became king. In his reign when (he) along with sixty-four *Phamthou*[1] went to hunt at Langcha Loupungphei, all were found drowned. Only one survived. The survivor was found hanging on to a *long*[2] and all his descendants[3] came to be known as *Longjam* from that day. When sixty-three brave

Moirangs[4] attacked the Meeteis, all the Moirangs were killed by the Meeteis. Khongtekcha reigned for ten years. There was no king for eleven years.

1 Sixty-four *Phamthou*. *Phamthou* is a title for courtiers and the sixty-four *phamthou* referred to here may be a reading back of the numbers of a later date.

2 *long:* bamboo fishing trap. The entry was the aeteological legend of the family name of Longjam.

3 *thara:* corrupt form of a Bengali term *dhara*, lit. have connection with, but understood as being descendants of. Maybe a scribal alteration at the time of recompilation.

4 Moirangs. This was another powerful principality who lived in the southern location.

KEIRENCHA, SAKABDA 706 (784 CE)

Sakabda 706 (784 CE). Keirencha became king. Reigned for fifteen years.

MEETINGU YARAPA, SAKABDA 721 (799 CE)

Sakabda 721 (799 CE). Meetingu Yarapa became king. Reigned for twenty-two years.

MEETINGU AAYANGPA, SAKABDA 743 (821 CE)

Sakabda 743 (821 CE). Meetingu Aayangpa became king. In his reign, while hunting, a beast escaped as far as the Moicha hills and they pursued it. All the Nongyai Khuman took it as an insult (as the beast had entered their land) and all the Khumans challenged the Meeteis. The Meeteis were victorious. Thingaruk Kokchaopa, Thingkaruk Ngangsapa, Thingaruk Nungnang and Aahui Kampong the brave, all these men were captured. As (Aayangpa) ran fast and jumped across the battle trench, he was also called Aayangpa Sari Langkhong Chongpa.[1] In his reign the wall Aayangpanli[2] was erected. Aayangpa reigned for eighty-nine years.

1 Aayangpa Sari Langkhong Chongpa: *Aayangpa* one who runs fast, *Sari* lit. one who is athletic, *Langkhong* war trench, *Chongpa* to jump.

2 Aayangpanli. Conflation of two words, *Aayang* for Ayangpa and *panli* a long barricade. This wall probably was named after Aayangpa. The area where the wall stood still bears this name.

NINGTHOUCHENG, SAKABDA 832 (910 CE)

Sakabda 832 (910 CE). Ningthoucheng became king. They raided Houkei and were victorious. Captured many cattle and pigs. Ningthoucheng reigned for thirty-nine years.

MEETINGU CHENGLEI YIPAN LANTHAPA, SAKABDA 871 (949 CE)

Sakabda 871 (949 CE). Meetingu Chenglei Yipan Lanthapa[1] became king. In his reign, the group of Luwangs[2] who came at Luwangyi[3] by boat, were all captured. Chenglei Yipan Lanthapa reigned for twenty years.

1 Chenglei. It implies that this king was from the Chenglei *yek*.

2 Luwangs. One of the seven *yeks* who ruled part of Manipur and was in conflict with the other *yeks* until the confederacy. It is believed that the Luwangs introduced the use of boats. They were boat people.

3 Luwangyi refers to the present-day Luwangli river.

MEETINGU YANGLOU KEIPHAPA, SAKABDA 891 (969 CE)

Sakabda 891 (969 CE). Meetingu Yanglou Keiphapa[1] became king. In his reign he caught a tiger at Langthapan. Also the embroidering of the *Phanek*[2] all along its border with *khoi* curved patterns[3] was introduced. Yanglou Keiphapa reigned for fifteen years.

1 Yanglou Keiphapa. Conflation of three words: *Yanglou* road, *kei* tiger, *phapa/phaba* to catch. It literally means one who caught a tiger on the road.

2 *Phanek.* An ankle-length striped ladies' skirt with an elaborately embroidered border, worn as a wrapper round the waist.

3 *khoi lonpa. Khoi* the shape of the pattern, *lonpa* to embroider. *Khoi* is like a comma but upside down. Mostly used in embroidering women's garments on the border but could also be used elsewhere. This pattern is still used and forms part of the genuine Meetei Phanek.

YIRENGPA, SAKABDA 906 (984 CE)

Sakabda 906 (984 CE). Yirengpa became king. He fought against the Moirangs at Yithai and was victorious. Khampa Sentang, Khampa Larak the brave were amongst the ten who were captured. They also fought against the Khumans at Taknakha and were victorious. Captured Khunu Manpa Sakapton and others numbering twenty altogether. Meetingu Yirengpa reigned for ninety years.

MEETINGU LOIYUMPA, SAKABDA 996 (1074 CE)

Sakabda 996 (1074 CE). Meetingu Loiyumpa became king. In his reign the humans overpowered the *lais*, whereas before, the humans and the *lais* were serving together in the *Lanlup*.[1] The *lais* disappeared.[2] The humans took over the control of the land and the land was divided into six *panas* (or divisions) and they all served in the *panas*.[3] The *panas* were named: [i] Aangoupa *Lup* (group) which was the Luplen Lup (chief group), [ii] Nongmai Lup which was the Thoucha Rup,[4] [iii] Aakong Lup also called Kongcha Rup,[5] [iv] Khurai Rup also called Lupkhupa Rup, (the area) of Leichon whose *Lakpa* was

Tolongkhompa was agreed to be regarded as one group and it was named [v] Chingcha Rup.[6] They thought Khurai was left out and they were short of one group. Thus one more group was formed by carving off parts of areas from the others and it was named [vi] Khaicha Rup.[7] Thus the land was divided into six *panas*. In his reign it was said that there was a magic stool[8] which could produce fish, meat at command. The king asked for it but it was refused, and thus the king made his brother-in-law, the king of Aangom, attack the owner. They defeated the Sektas[9] and captured six people, including Mathanglen Tao and Angkem Tao of Chakpa. He also sent his elder brother Khamlang Pamsapa to fight against the people of Haoku as they refused to pay their tribute. Captured Haokurang and Santhinpa. Also Meetingu Loiyumpa himself marched against the people of Leihou as it was reported that the people of Leihou did not provide food[10] for those who went there to collect the tribute. He was victorious. Captured Khomoreng, the king of Leihou. The singing of *Oukari*[11] began from this time. Also in his reign all the families[12] were made to perform their professional duties.[13] Loiyumpa reigned for forty-eight years.

1 *Lanlup.* Conflation of two words, *lan* battle, *lup* group. Refers to the various groups which had been formed primarily to defend the land. No able-bodied male was exempt. But it also included the general internal service to the land in the way of works relating to roads, bridges and transport, communications, collection of tribute payment *(loi),* care of water supply, drainage, sanitation, forest products, building of granaries, collection of agricultural produce and the storing of the grain, care of domesticated birds and animals, including horses and elephants, keeping of wildlife under control for the safety of human lives, keeping up with foreign relations, regular scouting of enemies both within and at the borders, defence and nation building. These services were rendered to the country in lieu of a state tax. At a later period each male served ten working days in the *Lanlup* for every forty days. But in times of war all males were considered to be on duty.

2 *lais* disappeared. Meaning very obscure. *Lais* normally mean divinities. But the term, in this context, must mean human beings. Presumably it refers to the Pakhangpa group or ruling elite *(lai)* which now became integrated with the rest in the land and social distinction between the two groups, i.e. the ruling elite and the rest of the people disappeared. Since Loiyumpa is credited with instituting the first constitution, this was radical in the reordering of society to integrate the previous dominant groups.

3 *pana kai:* they attended to the service of the *pana*. *Kai* is present of infinitive *kaba* to attend. All had to attend to the service of the country. This system of service to the country and king remained till late and when the British found it after 1891 they regarded it as forced labour. Not a single male, regardless of lineage of birth or position in life, was exempt from this service except those to whom, in a much later period, the king gave exemption as a reward on grounds of extraordinary performance or status. Later, in the hands of inhumane kings, this practice became abused and it was abolished by the British in the early 1930s.

4–5 Thoucha Rup and Kongcha Rup. According to the *Puya Loiyumpa Sinyen*, the names of these two groups were Langmai and Senloi Rups respectively. *Rup* and *Lup* (r and 1) are used interchangeably.

6 *Chingcha Rup:* from verb *chingpa/chingba* to reckon, to count as. Leichon, whose *lakpa* was Tonglongkhonpa, was reckoned as one *Lup*. Hence the name Chingcha was given to this group. Chingcha also means children of the hills (*ching* hill, *cha* children). *Lakpa* or *Rakpa:* term used for chief or one in charge.

7 *Khaicha Rup:* from verb *khaiba* to carve off, so called since this group was formed by carving it off from the rest. That *Khurai* was left out is puzzling. The possibility is that the formation of the *panas* or groups took place at different times.

8 magic stool: first reference to the superstitious element.

9 Sektas. Sekta is eight miles to the north of Imphal and is on the old highway linking it with the east, an autochthonous Chakpa village.

10 *chak pijarakte* did not provide food. Those who went on the king's errand were customarily provided with food, especially when travelling long distances. Not to provide food was not only an insult but also was contrary to the hospitable culture of the people. This custom was exploited even as late as the 1930s.

11 *Ougari.* This may be a combination of two words: *Ou* exclamation, *gari* for *kari,* original form *Oukari,* meaning 'What!' 'What do you say?' 'What do you think?'—a provocative challenge to those to whom it was sung. It has political overtones when sung for or by kings. *Ougri* contains the king's achievements, exploits, glory, power and lineage and it is sung while the king himself performs the war dance as if to challenge anyone who will not accept his suzerainty over them. *Ougri* is also sung in the *Lai Haraoba,* where the *Lai's* overlordship over the whole land is recalled. From the time of King Loiyumpa it became a sign of challenge and the subjugation of enemies.

12 *yumnak:* refers to family name which might consist of one or more family units who might stay either in one area or at different places.

13 *Masin touhanlamye: masin* duty, *touhanba* from verb *touba* to do, to perform, *hanba* suffix to indicate an order. All the families bearing one family name were ordered to perform specific duties. It was the making of a constitution by which every family was involved in its particular duties which were distributed by the king himself. The formation of this constitution also reflected in Loiyumpa Sinyen implies a more peaceful period. Law and order and division of labour were the aim. *Loiyumpa Sinyen,* a monograph written in Meetei script, gives a list of families, nine Umang Lai attendants, traditional physicians *(Maipas), Maipis* (female religious functionaries), *Aseipa* and *Pena* duties (music, vocal and instrumental) and court officials, among those to whom duties and crafts were distributed. The exact date of this monograph in Meetei script is not yet established, but it is quite early in its original form, though it may well have been expanded at later times.

MEETINGU LOITONGPA, SAKABDA 1044 (1122 CE)

Sakabda 1044 (1122 CE). Meetingu Loitongpa became king. In his reign, they began[1] to play the game of *Kang*.[2] He fought in the eastern location and won the battle. Captured in battle ten people, including Keke Naokhongton,[3] Tolnu Naokhongcha, Aaton Naothingpa, Kokmarong Hinaopa and others. Loitongpa reigned for twenty-eight years.

1 *Hourakye:* past continuous tense of *houba* to begin. Tradition claims that the game was in existence in the reign of the legendary king Kang, after whom the game was named, but was revived in the reign of Loitongpa.

2 *Kang:* indoor game with seven people on each side. The opponents sit facing each other at a fixed distance of either 42 ft by 18 ft or 30 ft by 16 ft between them. Each team consists of male and female players. A little seed *(kangkhin),* the size of a marble, is placed in front of each of the participants on the floor and the aim is to knock it out of place with a rounded or an oval-shaped disc which is called a *kang,* made of ivory or heavy wood. The disc may either be thrown half-way so as to slide the rest of the distance, or slid with a flick of fingers of both hands all the way along the floor. This disc may be thrown either from a standing or a sitting position (*chekphei* and *lamtha* respectively). For the *chekphei* throw the opponent's disc is usually used for the target in place of the seed. In this case the disc is placed upright in a shallow dent in the floor. After the seed is knocked from its place twice with the standing strike *(chekphei)* the sitting strike *(lamtha)* takes place. If the seed is hit at this strike, these three strikes constitute the scoring of one game. There are detailed rules as to how the *chekphei* and *lamtha* throws are to be performed.

3 Keke Naokhongton: Naokhongton of Keke ethnic group who lived in Moirang, possibly originating further east.

MEETINGU AATOM YOIRENPA, SAKABDA 1072 (1150 CE)

Sakabda 1072 (1150 CE). Meetingu Yoirenpa became king. He was chased out by his younger brother[1] and he fled to the Khumans. He reigned for thirteen years.

1 Perhaps Yoirenpa was trying to introduce primogeniture.

MEETINGU YIWANTHAPA, SAKABDA 1085 (1163 CE)

Sakabda 1085 (1163 CE). Meetingu Yiwanthapa became king. In his reign, they marched against the Khumans and fought at Uchiwa. The *Maharani*[1] of the Khumans, who was inspecting the workers in the paddy field, was killed and her body was carried away by the Meeteis. At this all the Khumans were furious and marched out towards Yairou to attack the Meeteis. They fought against all the Meeteis. (The Meeteis) were victorious.[2] In the battle about thirty people were captured.[3] Amongst those captured were Khunpu Loithangcha, Thingpai Aamakchampa, Tona Leichin Pampa Kaireima and Ponchengsu's son. Some fled and some were killed. Meetingu Yiwanthapa reigned for thirty-two years.

1 *Maharani* (queen): a Sanskrit term used for the first time in the text, a later editorial alteration.

2 *Ngamme:* past tense of *ngamba* to be victorious. There is no subject. It could be applied to either the Khumans or the Meeteis. But because of the verb *pharouye* (captured) in the following sentence, it is clear that it was the Meeteis who were victorious.

3 *Pharouye:* from verb *phaba* to capture, to arrest, to catch. Past tense with the suffix *rouye* indicates that they were not only captured but also detained.

MEETINGU THAWANTHAPA, SAKABDA 1117 (1195 CE)

Sakabda 1117 (1195 CE). Meetingu Thawanthapa became king. (The king) attacked Chingsong Haos[1] and was victorious. Captured Leimuyangtak in battle. They also burnt down Chingsong village. Thawa Lanchengsoi was captured when Koiching Koimahou[2] was attacked. After that (the king) was named Thawanthapa. And he also attacked Yirong in the north. Captured maiden Naokhong, and (two men), Naokhongchampa and Konthou. Also there was fighting by the side of Loiching Yiyei in Aarong, the village of the Haos. He was victorious. Captured about twenty people, including Thongthoppa, Phupampa, Phouoisang, Haopathikpa the *Lanta Thourangpa*[3] and Huirongtaopa. Also when they fought with the people of Langmeithet they were victorious. Captured Tharalintu Macha, Kaklen the ironsmith, Khurai Mente, Tachop Khongwai, Kakchak Samkhomnapi, these were captured. Also Meetingu Thawanthapa was asked by Punsipa, the king of Khuman, to help him in a battle. Many people riding the leading fast barge[4] went to help the Khuman king in the battle. They fought together with the Khumans in attacking the villagers of Heirem. They were victorious. Captured in battle, Khonga the lame one who walked with a stick, and another who had caused the disturbance amongst

the people[5] in the area. These three people were captured alive. After this, Meetingu Thawanthapa fought against Punsipa, the king of the Khumans, on account of his daughter Chingkhei Thanpi.[6] Thawanthapa was victorious. Captured in battle Nongyai Haotaraipa, Haota Koipa, Aaronlinampa, Yaithing Kaorong and maiden Konu,[7] all of them were captured. They also captured Souponyai of the Khumans. Meetingu Thawanthapa reigned for thirty-six years.

1 Chingsong Hao. Originally the term *Hao* was applied to anyone who was not of royal birth. The king was addressed with the phrase *Nanai Hao macha na*, etc., meaning 'your servant who is an ordinary person'. *Hao* meant a commoner. No subject spoke to the king in the first person but always in the third person. Some time after the adoption of Hinduism by the Meeteis, *Hao* came to mean 'hill people'.

2 *Koiching Koimahou:* lit. the round-shaped Mahou which is also circled by hills. *Koiching:* conflation of two words, *Koi* from *koiba* to encircle, *ching* hill, hence hills which encircle (a place). *Koimahou:* conflation of two words, *koi* round, *Mahou*, place name. Round-shaped Mahou.

3 *Lanta thourangpa: lanta* in battle, *thourangpa* conflation of two words, *thou* task, duty, *rangpa* to organise, to supervise. One who had the task of a quartermaster.

4 *Hiyang Hiren: hi* boat, *yang* from *yangba* to be fast, fast boat, *hiren* chief of boats, large fast barge.

5 *Yumlak Lanhouyam: yum* house, *lak* in the midst of, *lan* trouble, battle, *houyam* all those involved in causing the battle. Hence refers to the person or persons who were causing disturbance in the midst of the houses. It looks more like putting a stop to internal unrest by capturing the troublemakers regardless of their physical condition.

6 Chingkhei Thanpi. According to tradition the conflict arose because of the wedding present for his daughter Chingkhei Thanpi.

7 Yaithing Karong and maiden Konu. There is a legend which is sung in ballad form of a maiden named Yaithing Konu of Moirang. The reference here must be the source of the ballad. That a maiden was captured was unusual, except that it may have been to retaliate for the loss of the daughter of the king of the Meeteis.

MEETINGU CHINGTHANG LANTHAPA, SAKABDA 1153 (1231 CE)

Sakabda 1153 (1231 CE). Meetingu Chingthang Lanthapa became king. They attacked the Khumans and captured Nongyai Haopa and Khara Tompokpa. When they attacked Kamu in the east, they were victorious and they captured Yekchampu the brave, who was the king of Kamu. Meetingu Chingthang Lanthapa reigned for eleven years.

THINGPAI SENHONGPA, SAKABDA 1164 (1242 CE)

Sakabda 1164 (1242 CE). Thingpai Senhongpa whose mother was Khayoiron[1] became king. He reigned for five years.

1 *Khayoiron:* a maiden of the *Khuman yek.*

MEETINGU PURANTHAPA, SAKABDA 1169 (1247 CE)

Sakabda 1169 (1247 CE). Meetingu Puranthapa[1] became king. They fought against the Khumans at Pairou in the eastern location and were victorious. They captured in battle Aaton Kharaopa, Thongpu Kharaopa, Maroi Lamma Potpupa, Khomsipa Potchanaithapa, Tongyaikhupa, Tongyaihanpa, Nongyai Saipakpa, Nongpan Takte Mantepa, Nongyai Chirongman, Kangla Mee Maru, Khongchon *pipa*,[2] a son-in-law of the queen, who was also a son-in-law of the king, the guards at the door, those who were scouts, Langlen Kongyang Wakhankhai and Sakpa, all these were captured. They also fought in Koupa Leikhampok in the northern location. They were victorious. They made Koupa Koutai a tributary. Captured in the battle Kapengpa and Lansamyang. And they also fought against the Chakpa[3] at Khongchi Yainarok and were victorious. Captured in battle Chakpa Khongchi the king of Chakpa, Aarok Aamupa, and Aathing Aayang the brave. Meetingu Puranthapa reigned for sixteen years.

1 Puranthapa. *Ningthouron Lambuba* gives his name as Poirei Ningthou Hanpa (Hanpa the king of Poirei) before he was called Puranthapa. Name suggests that he belonged to the Poirei group. *Puran* is a Sanskrit term meaning legend and the name Puran Thapa implies one who has planted a historical legend. The name is very likely a later insertion.

2 *pipa:* the male head of an extended family which may have numerous family units living in more than one area. Pipaship was always held by a male, as a woman usually left her parental home after marriage.

3 Chakpa. These are among the autochthonous people of Manipur. They came to be known as Lois after the adoption of Hinduism in Manipur.

MEETINGU KHUMOMPA, SAKABDA 1185 (1263 CE)

Sakabda 1185 (1263 CE). Meetingo[1] Khumompa became king. They fought in the centre of Thangkan village in the Hempa mountain range in the north and were victorious over the Hao village. They captured Maimupa the cattle owner who was the king of the mountain range. Also when the Kapos[2] marched against the Khumans and scattered them, the Khumans asked (the king) for help. Meetingu Khumompa agreed to help and left to aid the Khumans' fight against the Kapos. The Kapos faced the Khuman and the Meetei alliance. The Meeteis scattered the Kapos. The one who chewed tea with his golden lips[3] and another who was always drunk with his silver lips[4] and many others were captured. Meetingu Khumompa reigned for fifteen years.

1 *Meetingo: o* scribal freedom as o and u were interchangeable. *Yingo* has the same meaning as *Yingu* lord.

2 Kapo (or Kabaw): mentioned for the first time, refers to the area between Ava and Manipur.

3 *Sna Chinpanthongna Cha Saipa:* lit. eater of tea by the golden lips. *Sna* or *sana* gold, *chinpan* lips, *thongna* to put at *cha,* tea, *saipa,* to chew. One who might have had a gold tooth or one who was of royal lineage as he is referred as *sna,* but who chewed or drank tea. Tea was indigenous and grew wild in Manipur. Names often were very descriptive in the Meetei culture.

4 *Lupa Chinpanthongna Yiyongpa*. Same as the above phrase but has silver *(lupa)* in place of gold. Yinongpa, a derivative of Yipingpa, to be drunk, and hence a man who had silver tooth

and was fond of drinking. As the other one was fond of tea this one was fond of *yu* (rice beer).

MEETINGU MOIRAMPA, SAKABDA 1200 (1278 CE)

Sakabda 1200 (1278 CE). Meetingu Moirampa became king. They fought against the Khumans at Leitang. They were victorious and captured in battle Khuman Thangchi Chaora's sister and her husband; the couple were captured. And also when they fought against the Moirangs at Ningthoukhong[1] they were victorious. They captured Tilhoutha Cha from the area where the Keke people lived[2] and Wapa Naocha of Langkhongtou[3] and many others were captured in battle. They also fought against the people of Makihao and were victorious. They captured Korirong in battle. Meetingu Moirampa reigned for twenty-four years.

1 *Ningthoukhong:* lit. 'the canal of the king'.

2 *Kekerakki Tilhoutha Cha. Kekerak* indicates an area where most of the inhabitants were of the Keke group but within the Khuman principality. *ki* (suffix) from. This may refer to people of more eastern origin. *Tilhoutha Cha: Cha* child of the family or of a person, *tilhou* onion, *tha*, from *thaba* to plant, to grow, refers to a person whose father or family grew onions.

3 Wapa Naocha of Langkhongtou: Wapa the child of or from the family of Nao who lived in Langkhongtou. In this case the name, which means 'digger of battle trench', was given because of the profession of those who lived there. *Langkhong:* battle trench, *tou* from *touba* to dig, *cha* child, Wapa the child of Nao, the digger of battle trench.

MEETINGU THANGPI LANTHAPA, SAKABDA 1224 (1302 CE)

Sakabda 1224 (1302 CE). Meetingu Thangpi Lanthapa became king. They attacked the Marings and were victorious. They captured in battle Maring Manatol the sword smith, Thingkari who looked like a woman, and Haonu Leihoupi (maiden) and also Leihoupa her husband, and Khanglak Lanthouyang, all these were captured. Also the Meeteis fought at Loktak lake on boats against the Moirangs, as Chingkhu Telheipa, the king of Moirang, refused to give his daughter Yoiren Tompokpi, his only child, in marriage (to the Meetei king). They (the Meeteis) were victorious. They captured in battle many, including Thingkusu and Pokpi, his younger sister. They also fought against the Loipi Hao[1] at Seku hill, in the south, and were victorious. They captured in battle Tengkongbi and Marem Namngapa. Meetingu Thangpi Lanthapa reigned for twenty-two years.

1 *Loipi Hao. Loipi* is a conflation of *loi* tribute and *pi* from *piba* to give or to pay. Haos who paid tribute. The term *Loipi*, which also means hills, probably was derived from this act of tribute payment by the inhabitants.

MEETINGU KONGYAMPA, SAKABDA 1246 (1324 CE)

Sakabda 1246 (1324 CE). Kongyampa became king. They fought at Kongyaiphai in the south and were victorious. They captured the king of Kongyang in the south, and many others. They also fought and defeated the Mayangs[1] who revolted[2] in the Koupa Hinglen

hill.[3] They captured in battle Mayang Maipa Samloipa, Aafe Racha[4] who was a skilled swordsman, Tingko Raja who swears, Lakasumka Tao and Aaring Aarang Tao and they were detained.[5] Also they fought against the Chakpa, at Khuroi Haora at Lamangtong. They were victorious. Captured many in battle, including Yumkhei Ngakpi (the lady defender) of Chakpa[6] and others. Meetingu Kongyampa reigned for eleven years.

1 *Mayangs:* westerners, they were the inhabitants of neighbouring Cachar.

2 *lan hourakpapu:* conflation of two words, *lan* battle, *hourakpa* from *houba* to begin, *pu* postposition indicating when they began. Conditional form of *lanhouba* to revolt. When one invades the terms used are *lan taba* or *lan karakpa: lan* battle, *taba* to fall upon or *karakpa* (to come up against).

3 Koupa Hinglen mountain. Koupa here refers to the Koubru mountain range and Hinglen, a particular hill.

4 Aaphe Racha: Aaphe who was a king, *racha* for raja. A Bengali or Sanskrit term.

5 *Phahouye:* from verb *phaba* to capture. Suffix *houye* indicates that they were not only captured but detained. Since these people revolted, it appears that it was a combined attempt from the Mayangs with the help of some of the non-Mayang, people of Chinese origin (Tao) to overthrow the Meeteis in Manipur.

6 *Yumkhei Ngakpi* of Chakpa: lit. 'the lady who defended the houses of Chakpa'. *Yumkhei* houses, *Ngakpi* female form of the one who defended. The Chakpas had women defenders, chiefs or queens. This gives a very favourable reading of the role of women in the Chakpa society which was pre-Meetei and may have been matriarchal.

MEETINGU TENHEIPA, SAKABDA 1257 (1335 CE)

Sakabda 1257 (1335 CE). Meetingu Tenheipa became king. They had a battle in boats with the villagers of Heirem at Chairen Theichangpung. They captured in battle Tharuk Yoithongngai, Hanpa Konkhunao and Hanu Konthokngai. They also fought against (the inhabitants of) Loipi Marem[1] at Yangpham Chaklikpok in the Koupa mountain range. They were victorious. They captured Marem Sanlungpa. Meetingu Tenheipa reigned for twenty years.

1 Loipi Marem: possibly the Maram hills.

MEETINGU TONAPA, SAKABDA 1277 (1355 CE)

Sakabda 1277 (1355 CE). Meetingu Tonapa became king. Reigned for five years.

MEETINGU TAPUNGPA, SAKABDA 1281 (1359 CE)

Sakabda 1281 (1359 CE).[1] Meetingu Tapungpa began to reign. They fought against the (inhabitants of) Loipi Marem at Yangpham Chaklikpok. They were victorious and captured in battle Soulokeipha Lanthongyang, the king of Loibi Yangpham. They also fought in the north, as the Chingsong Haos failed to pay the tribute of *phipong chami*[2] (cloth). Because of the non-payment of the tribute to the state store-house,[3] Chingsong was attacked. While they were attacking Chingsong, Khamlangpa the king of Chingsong, on account of a grudge concerning his wife Lara Lasangnu Saphabi, killed Meetingu

Tapungpa and his servant Aakaocham Cha Tonkheipa. Tapungpa reigned for thirty-five years.

1 Sak. 1281: Tonapa, the previous king reigned from Sak. 1277 for five years (Sak. 1277–1282). Tapungpa's reign dates from Sak. 1281. The discrepancy may be due to either (a) a scribal error or (b) a miscalculation of the Sakabda dating, or (c) reckoning part of a year as a full year.

2 *Phipong chami loi: Phipong chami* a thick cloth woven at the loin loom, *loi* tribute payment, cloth used for the payment. *Chami* pattern is mentioned in the *Loiyumpa Sinyen,* now it is unidentifiable. *Phipong* literally means cloth of the Pong (people). Most likely the design was copied.

3 *Wangon pukei loi: Wangon* storehouse, *pukei* storehouse, *loi* tribute payment. This refers to the tribute payment which was kept in the state storehouse. This phrase refers to the above payment in woven clothes.

MEETINGU LAIRENPA, SAKABDA 1316 (1394 CE)

Sakabda 1316 (1394 CE). Meetingu Lairenpa became king. He reigned for five years. Then there was no king for five years after him.

MEETINGU PUNSIPA, SAKABDA 1326 (1404 CE)

Sakabda 1326 (1404 CE). Meetingu Punsipa became king. They attacked Moirang Soipung and were victorious. They captured in battle Lammami and Lammachao of Keke. They also fought against Thangka Kambong and were victorious. They captured in battle Yakot Sinheipa[1] the dentist (who dwelt) at Kampongpat (lake), which also served as a battle trench.[2] They also fought against the Tangkhuns[3] of Monthou and were victorious. They captured Keihou the king of the Tangkhuns and Marem Khamtingpa. They also attacked Koireng in the area of Kouparu in the northern location and were victorious. They captured Charairong, Leipunlong and Thangsa Utong Aangangpa. They also attacked the Marings and were victorious and captured the chief of the Marings and his sisters Wakna Chana Leinoupi, Tengna Chana Hemoibi and their husbands Sentaklen and Lukhoipa Leirang Sachipa. Meetingu Punsipa reigned for twenty-eight years.

In the (Cheithapa) year of Takhen Ramcharan, Sakabda 1702 (1780 CE), during the reign of Shri Shri Jukta Bhagyachandra Maharaja, while he was king at Kanchipur, after his commissioning his royal maternal uncle Aananta Sai, the *Lakpa* of Khwai,[4] with the responsibility of (recompiling) the (portion of the) Cheitharon which was lost, it was once again re-established by order.[5] The task of recompiling this book (Cheitharon) was given to Chirom Syamram and Aoinam Aanandaram, these two[6] were made to write it.

1–2 The text literally runs: They captured *Kampongpatyakot sinheipa langkhongsu oinapa.* While *Kampongpat Yakot sinheipa* could be taken as the description of a person with his profession and location, the next phrase, *Langkhong su oinapa,* meaning who or which also was used as a battle trench…if it refers to the person it makes no sense. Hence the battle trench *(langkhong)* must refer to the *pat* or the little lake which served the purpose of a battle trench. This man not only lived by the lake but is described as Yakot Sinheipa: *Yakot* one who digs teeth, *sinheipa* skilled. Very likely he was a dentist whose name was given after his profession. Alternative reading: *Kampongpatya* Kot *sinheipa,* if he was not a dentist, then his

name was Kot the skilled man who lived by Kampongpat; *ya* postposition meaning by or near.

3 *Tangkhun.* First time the Tangkhuns are mentioned; an ethnic group, today classified as Naga, occupying the hills to the north-east of the valley.

4 *Lakpa:* chief, official in charge. Various institutes as well as subdivisions and specific areas within the land had officials in charge who were called *Lakpas*. *Lakpa* was not hereditary but a post by appointment by the king and the reigning king's male relatives often were the first choice. Later some *Lakpa* posts were automatically allotted to the king's brothers only.

5 *amarak linghanye: amarak* (adverb) once again, implies an earlier existence of the portion to be recompiled. *Linghanye* from verb *lingba* to establish, with suffix *hanye,* indicates a command. 'Made to re-establish it once again.' See Introduction.

6 Court scribes.

MEETINGU NINGTHOUKHOMPA, SAKABDA 1354–1389 (1432–1467 CE)

Sakabda 1354 (1432 CE).[1] Meetingu Ningthoukhompa ascended the throne.[2] In the days of Meetingu Ningthoukhompa, Aangoupa Hithalangloi Ngampa, the *Lakpa* of Yaisakul, Sanayin the *Lakpa* of Luplen the chief institute, Kongyampa the *Lakpa* of Leichon, Tonlongkhompa and Langyi the *Lanchingpa*[3] of Tummu who led the army in battle, all these made a combined attack on the Moirangs. They defeated the Moirangs. Captured in battle Ponchempa of Snarak,[4] Kapukhompa of Luparak, the onion growers of Kekerak, Wapu Nouja, Aathing Aarangcha of Langkhongtou, Ura Langmeirempa of Ngankha Nampok, Khenchang Nenpa, Khenchang Chaipa, the *Lakpa* of Yaosu and his son Chaphapa, Leitang Lanthapa and Tumu Langyi, the one who led the battle, all these were captured.

1 In Ningthoukhompa's reign the manner of recording is slightly different from the previous entries. It has given two extra dates where specific events took place, Sak. 1365 when the Meeteis were attacked, and Sak. 1389 for dating the king's death. There is no indication that they had adopted a new era. Very likely the dates were counted back when the Cheithapa was introduced in the reign of the next king.

2 *Phampan kaiye:* from *phampan* throne, *kaiye* from *Kaba* to ascend. 'Ascended the throne' is used in place of 'became king'. First time this phrase is used. Change in style may reflect the power and position of the king.

3 *Lanchingpa:* lit. one who leads the troops in battle. Commander-in-chief of the Vanguard. First time the term is used.

4 *Rak:* in the midst of, or lane. Could indicate the area where gold *(sand)* smiths, silver *(lupa)* smiths and the Keke people lived. Modern term *Leirak* lane (*lei* from *leiba,* to inhabit, live) has its origin in the use of *rak* as found here.

Sakabda 1365 (1443 CE)

While Meetingu Ningthoukhompa was away attacking Akla, and when Meetei Reima[1] Linthoi Ngampi and others along with the whole land took shelter temporarily at Tangkham, all the Tangkhuns[2] from the mountain range revolted and marched down to attack and to take all the people (of the plains) as prisoners. They failed and they were all captured and detained. At this time Meetingu Kyampa was also born. Meetingu Ningthou

Khompa was also victorious over the Kakla.[3] Captured in battle Chengchasi, Chengchakang, Khekchari and Khekchakang and Pharangrong the *Lakpa* of Mantang.

1 Meetei Reima: Queen of the Meeteis. The title *Reima* or *Leima* is also found being used to indicate a Meetei maiden who has become a queen of a neighbouring country through marriage. First time Reima is used to indicate the queen.

2 Tangkhun. The text implies that they had previously been subject people.

3 Kakla: may be a scribal error for Aakla.

Sakabda 1389 (1467 CE)

Meetingu Ningthoukhompa ascended to heaven.[1] Reigned on the throne for thirty- five years.

1 *Nongkaiye:* conflation of two words, *nong* sky or rain, *kaiye* past tense of *kaba* to go up, to climb or to attend. Ascended to heaven. First time this phrase is used. This phrase reflects Meetei cosmology.

MEETINGU KYAMPA, SAKABDA 1389–1430 (1467–1508 CE)

[Sakabda 1389 (1467 CE)]

Meetingu Kyampa ascended the throne when he was twenty-four years old. Sakabda 1392 (1470 CE) Meetingu Kyampa offered an appeasement[1] with the offering of a mithun at the foot of Khari hills that he might be victorious over Kyang of Kapo. He was victorious over the Kyangs of Kapo. Meetingu Kyampa and Choupha Khekkhompa, the king of Pong, made an alliance[2] and fought (against the Kyangs). The Yingthi river (Chindwin) which is 100 *lam*[3] across was bridged with gold and silver and the two crossed it together. They sat together on one golden throne on one golden mat. They ate together from one royal plate. They drank from the same royal glass.[4] They attacked together Kyang Khampat of Kapo. They defeated Kyang. Captured in battle Mung of Takhen, Khamset, Khamkhai and Hokham. They also exchanged[5] their servants. Louwan, the trumpeter, servant of Choupha Khekkhompa, the king of Pong, was exchanged with Sekta, the *pung* drummer, servant of Meetingu Kyampa. Mahouwangpi Sumpa of the Meeteis and from the side of the Kapos, a man named Chapak Tete, laid down the demarcations of the land boundary.[6] The area for Pong included all of Heinou Khongnempa Pokpa.[7] The area for the Meeteis was all of Mungkhong and Mungwai. In the east, all of Loijarik, in the south, Miyatong hills and the area up to Heinou Khongnempa Pokpa. The whole land of Khari was allotted[8] to the Meeteis. The area which was beyond Somsok[9] belonged to the Pongs and the area of (Samsok) which was behind (the Pong's area)[10] belonged to the Meeteis. Then the grandfather and grandson[11] asked each other's age. The age of the king of Pong was forty-seven years and he had reigned for thirty years on the throne. Meetingu Kyampa said he was twenty-seven years old and he had reigned for three years. Then they returned, each to his own country. Meetingu Lamkyampa was born. Aangoupampa Kyampa[12] was also born.

1 *Yiratye:* past tense of *yiratpa* appeasement, which includes animal offering. Presumably the meat was eaten by the participants as a common meal.

2 *lanloinai:* lit. *lan* battle, *loinai* to be together. They fought together. The picture is that of forming an alliance of the two kings to fight against the Kyang of Kapo.
3 *lam:* measurement which comprises the distance from one tip of the middle finger to the other, across the shoulders, when both arms are outstretched.
4 *Sanaki li amata haminnei chaminnei:* ate and drank from the same royal *Li*. *Li* pottery ware was used as plates, drinking mugs, bowls. Exact shape is obscure. This sharing hints not just to political alliance but to a closer bond between the two kings.
5 *Sinneiye:* from verb *sinnaba* to exchange. This act of exchange implied professional services to promote different cultures in each other's country.
6 *lam yenneiye: lam* land, *yennaiye*, past tense of *yennaba* to divide, to share out.
7 *Heinou Khongnempa Pokpa:* lit. dwarf mango (tree or trees) which was in Pokpa. Text is obscure. Presumably the mango tree in Pokpa was made the boundary and this agrees with Pemberton. 'A tract of country was then made over to the Rajah of Munipoor by the king of Pong, extending east to the Noajeeree, a range of hills running between the Moo and Kyendwen rivers, which was then established as the boundary between the two countries. South, the limit extended to the Muyatoung or Muya hills, and north, to a very celebrated mangoe tree near Moongkhum, between the Noajeeree hills and the Kyendwen river.' (Pemberton 1835:118.)
8 *Khairamye:* from verb *khaiba* to give as a share, to share out, to allot. Khari *lam pumna khairamye:* Khari *lam* land of Khari, *pumna* whole of: the whole land of Khari was allotted as a share. Indicates that Khari was not split up.
9–10 *Yimang/Yiming.* The scribe is trying to give a vivid picture of the areas which belonged to each of the kings. Taking Somsok as the dividing line, he gives the picture that what lies beyond *(yimang)* Somsok belonged to Pong, while the area which was behind *(yiming)* Pong's area belonged to the Meeteis. If this is the case, one can take it either that Somsok belonged to the Meeteis or that Somsok was independent and was the dividing point between the areas of Pong and that of the Meeteis. The former is more convincing in reference to the many future entries in the *Ch.K.* where the Meeteis went to harvest paddy from Somsok.
11 The king of Pong and the king of Meetei.
12 Aangoupampa/Aangoupamba or Aangoupa: designation for the kings of Aangom, one of the *yeks* in the confederacy.

Sakabda 1407 (1485 CE)

Cheithapa[1] was introduced (for the first time) and Hyangloi was the first person who became the Cheithapa.

1 *Cheithapa:* lit. to put down a stick, from *chei* stick, *thapa* to put down. Among the older people, when counting was done, they normally put down a stick to represent a base number. This is found among the women expert weavers and the farmers. Similarly when the system of counting the years was introduced the cheithapa person served the same purpose as that of the stick which represented the base number in the counting. The symbol used in counting has thus been retained. That particular year came to be known as the year of the cheithapa (person's name). Each year was named after the cheithapa person. Whenever any particular year was referred to, it was always referred to by the name of that cheithapa. Later in the Meetei tradition, the man who is chosen to be the cheithapa not only gives his name to that particular year but also becomes the bearer of all that is not good for the king and country for the whole of that year. He will be succeeded at the end of the year by another cheithapa. No woman held the post of the cheithapa. Since this system began to be used soon after meeting the king of Pong, one can probably assume that the idea was introduced by the king of Pong to the Meetei king. The exact year and the events taking place in that year can now be

identified by the name of the Cheithapa. This method of dating clearly preceded the use of the Sakabda era.

Textual divergence

In the *P. Ms* there is a scribal emendation on the Sakabda date when the cheithapa is first introduced, overwriting 7 on 6, giving Sakabda 1407 in place of Sakabda 1406. This correction is continued for a considerable length, up to Sakabda 1597 in the reign of Paikhompa. From Sakabda 1598, the cheithapa year of Moipunglongpam Pongsa, there is no evidence of correction by overwriting.

This evidence of overwriting suggests an editorial correction in Sakabda 1597 or later. The discrepancy of one year between the Sakabda date and the cheithapa person may have been due to an attempt to synchronise the Meetei dating with the Sakabda dating at a later time when Sakabda was introduced, or a simple mistake in calculation.

The *Deva Ms*, starting from the reign of Ningthoukhompa, gives the name of the first cheithapa as Hiynagloi like the *P. Ms* but without a date, and Sakabda 1407 is the year of Namoi, the following cheithapa. Presumably the *Deva. Ms* followed an uncorrected copy of the *P. Ms* at this point.

The difference between 1406 and 1407 may not necessarily be twelve whole months but a few months needing adjustment. The Sakabda calendar was calculated in a different way from that of the Meeteis. This, at a later date, necessitated the insertion of additional days or months to reconcile the Meetei lunar calendar with the Hindu year and calendar.

According to the *Deva Ms* Ningthoukhompa's reign, 'ended in Sakabda 1388, after fifteen years (scribal error for thirty-five) on the throne, Kyampa ascended the throne at the age of eight years'. If he was born in Sakabda 1365, during the Tangkhun revolt as indicated in Ningthoukhompa's reign, then the *Deva Ms* reckoning is incorrect. The *Din. Ms* has Hiyangloi's cheithapa year as Sakabda 1407 in agreement with the corrected *P. Ms.*

Sakabda 1408 (1486 CE)

The year of Namoi, Sakabda 1408 (1486 CE).

Sakabda 1409 (1487 CE)

The year of Khurai Wompa, Sakabda 1409 (1487 CE). Aahanlup Institute[1] was established. Thangyi Lamlei Yangpa was the first to become the *Lakpa* of the Aahanlup Institute. Naharup Institute[2] also was established. Yiwangpam Cha Nanpa Sorapa was the first to become the *Lakpa* of Naharup Institute.

1–2 Aahanlup and Naharup Institutes. These are the later developments and assimilation of the Lanlups referred to in Loiyumpa's reign. Aahanlup and Naharup are two of the four *panas* or divisions; the other two were Khapham and Laipham *Panas* which were established at a later date. All the people were grouped into these four divisions for administrative purposes, and each group had an equal number of courtiers and officials. Each *Pana* had a *Lakpa* (chief) and a specific location. Aahanlup and Naharup *Panas* came to be called collectively *Naicha;* Khapham and Laipham *Panas* were called *Khuncha*.

Sakabda 1410 (1488 CE)

The year of Khwai Haomu, Sakabda 1410 (1488 CE). Meetingu Koirempa was born.

Sakabda 1411 (1489 CE)

The year of Lamlei Muroksi, Sakabda 1411 (1489 CE).

Sakabda 1412 (1490 CE)

The year of Lamlei Wahakpa, Sakabda 1412 (1490 CE).

Sakabda 1413 (1491 CE)

The year of Aakangcham Ngunga, Sakabda 1413 (1491 CE).

Sakabda 1414 (1492 CE)

The year of Khuraicham Tomma, Sakabda 1414 (1492 CE).

Sakabda 1415 (1493 CE)

The year of Khoiri Jatra,[1] **Sakabda 1415 (1493 CE).**

1 Jatra: a Bengali name.

Sakabda 1416 (1494 CE)

The year of Angoucha, Sakabda 1416 (1494 CE).

Sakabda 1417 (1495 CE)

The year of Mikappa, Sakabda 1417 (1495 CE).

Sakabda 1418 (1496 CE)

The year of Lokhampam Tharoi, Sakabda 1418 (1496 CE). Aangoupampa Khongchompa died in the battle of Lanhang.

Sakabda 1419 (1497 CE)

The year of Wongngaipam Tapa, Sakabda 1419 (1497 CE). Aangoupampa Loicha Ngampa ascended the throne (of Aangom).

Sakabda 1420 (1498 CE)

The year of Khumuram Taha, Sakabda 1420 (1498 CE). Aangoupampa Loija Ngampa[1] went out to witness public ceremonies.[2]

1 *Aangoupampa Loija Ngampa*, for Loicha Ngampa: j is used in place of ch, a scribal choice.

2 *lam thokye: lam* places, *thokye* past tense of *thokpa* to come out. First time this phrase is used. Probable meaning: went out in ceremonial procession and was present for ceremonies performed in his honour.

Sakabda 1421 (1499 CE)

The year of Lamtaipa, Sakabda 1421 (1499 CE).

Sakabda 1422 (1500 CE)

The year of Samukchi, Sakabda 1422 (500 CE).

Sakabda 1423 (1501 CE)

The year of Kharisa, Sakabda 1423 (1501 CE).

Sakabda 1424 (1502 CE)

The year of Songlera, Sakabda 1424 (1502 CE).

Sakabda 1425 (1503 CE)

The year of Lamlei Wareppa, Sakabda 1425 (1503 CE).

Sakabda 1426 (1504 CE)

The year of Lamlei Chanouwa, Sakabda 1426 (1504 CE). The Mayangs revolted. Aangoupampa Loichangampa and others attacked the Mayangs. They lost the battle and Meetingu Kyampa's son, Yipungo the *Nongthonpa*,[1] and others, including Aapujam Haopa, Wangkheirakpam Kongyampa, Kampam Sekmu, Hicham Haopa, these and all the soldiers from Yaisakun laid down their lives together. Yipungo the *Nongthonpa* departed when the market was full,[2] riding on the back of Tharopi the buffalo. As he reached the troops, he the *Nongthonpa* said to Aangoupampa, 'Your father[3] also, who while invading Chingsong Lanhang got attached to a woman (and took her) as he would have done if he was sharing fish, salt or vegetables with the people (for which he was killed). And as for you, you who are not able even to avenge them (for your father), you will never defeat the Mayangs. So you return back (where you came from).' Thus he was chased away. Aangoupampa Loicha Ngampa listened with tears. He joined in the attack on the Mayangs. They were victorious over the Mayangs. They captured in battle Kampa

Nungma Chengpa, Teima Chengpa and Langka Teipa. They also erected mounds both big and small over the heaps of heads[4] taken (in battle).

1 *Yipungo* the *Nongthonpa: Yipungo,* term used for princes and males of royal descent. *Nongthonpa*, post of an official of high rank. In the text here *Nongthonpa* is mentioned three times. The last two clearly refer to a different prince from the first reference.

2 *Keithen Awompa matamta: keithen* market, *awompa* full, crowded, *matamta* a specific point in time. When the market was full of people. Eventually this market came to be known as *Awompa keithen* or Awompa market.

3 Your father: refers to the killing of Meetingu Tapungpa by the king of Chingsong in Sakabda 1281 on account of a grudge concerning his wife.

4 *Lanlu:* conflation of two words, *lan* battle and *lu* head. It was the custom in those days amongst the people both in the hills and in the plains to take the heads of enemies in battle. This practice ceased in the plains quite early after the Ningthoucha supremacy was established.

Sakabda 1427 (1505 CE)

The year of Haopa Langa, Sakabda 1427 (1505 CE). Yipungo the *Nongthonpa* died. Meetingu Koirempa had his ears pierced.[1]

1 *Na yatle:* to pierce the ears. First time this is mentioned. This became an important regular practice for kings and males of high position.

Sakabda 1428 (1506 CE)

The year of Chongtham Aata, Sakabda 1428 (1506 CE). Pongsang Ngampi died. They also performed target shooting.[1]

1 *Ukai kappa:* target shooting. Later this sport became incorporated in the annual boat race festival.

Sakabda 1429 (1507 CE)

The year of Ukaisanga, Sakabda 1429 (1507 CE). Kanglatongpi died.

Sakabda 1430 (1508 CE)

The year of Khunkhompa, Sakabda 1430 (1508 CE). Meetingu Kyampa reigned on the throne for forty years. Altogether he lived for sixty-four years.

MEETINGU KOIREMPA, SAKABDA 1430–1433 (1508–1511 CE)

[The year of Khunkhompa, Sakabda 1430 (1508 CE)]. Meetingu Koirempa ascended the throne at the age of twenty years. They were victorious over Kansoi. Yonpa and Upheipa were captured in battle.

Sakabda 1431 (1509 CE)

The year of Langpokcham Moirangnga, Sakabda 1431 (1509 CE).

Sakabda 1432 (1510 CE)

The year of Haobam Mori, Sakabda 1432 (1510 CE). While Meetingu Koirempa was celebrating the Hiyankei boat race (October/November), it was reported that he had beaten[1] his wife Wanuwangpi, the Meetei Reima. The news reached her father Aangoupampa Loicha Ngampa, the king of Aangom, and he was angry. The king of Aangom prevented his daughter (from returning to her husband) while (he was) hosting a feast at Langmeipung (which she attended). Meetingu Koirempa forbade Aangoupampa Loicha Ngampa from being crowned as king of the Aangoms and expressed his anger against him. Meetingu Koirempa held a special contest[2] at Kumlanglon[3] with a prize of a necklace which was completely covered with silver decorative work[4] (which) he wore.[5] Aangom was devastated. They were searching for Aangoupa Loicha Ngampa.[6]

1 *Toran nai haituna:* lit. *toran* means a stick, *nai* to be painful or to attack (as in *lan nai*), *haituna* as was said. Obviously the king beat his wife in public, which was reported. We are not given any more information. Either it was to provoke the queen's father, which he succeeded in doing, or the king was a wife beater, or both.

2 *Singnatuna:* from *singnaba* to contest, to compete. *Singnatuna,* by way of a competition. Perhaps the king had arranged for a contest with the king of Aangom to fight at Kumlanglon and had recruited some people on his side. This competition also carried a reward for the best performer.

3 *Kumlanglonta:* because of the suffix *ta* at, Khumlanglon must be a place name.

4 *Luppa rik pumna Toppa. luppa* silver, *rik* necklace, *pumna* all of it, *Toppa* to cover with. Literally a necklace which is completely covered with decorative silver work.

5 *Lon atu chinai: lon atu,* lit. 'that *lon*'. Since *lon* means either a language or age group, it is very likely a scribal dittography. Without *lon,* the sentence is meaningful and phrase *atu chinnai* means 'that was worn', referring to the necklace. Or it could be *lik atu* that necklace, *lon* a scribal error for *lik.* Since the wearer is not mentioned and since it was a prize given by the king, it is likely that it was his own necklace which he was putting out as a prize for the best performer in the contest. This is strengthened by the following sentence, which reads 'Aangom was devastated, and Aangoupa Loicha Ngampa also sought refuge elsewhere.' The prize was probably on Aangoupa Loicha Ngampa.

6 *Thiye:* could be either past tense and a short form of verb *mai thiba* to lose face, defeat or past tense of *thiba* to look for. If Loicha Ngampa was participating in the contest, then he lost. Alternatively, they were searching for him after the Aangoms had been devastated. If he did die in the devastation, the entry would read 'Angoupa Loicha Ngampa *siye,* or *hatle'* and not *thiye*.

Sakabda 1433 (1511 CE)

The year of Lamphen Ngampa, Sakabda 1433 (1511 CE). They were victorious over Khoipu. Captured Mangan, the male pig, the clown and the hunter. Aangoupa Kyampa ascended the throne.[1]

1 Aangoupa Kyampa is the Aangom king. But text is not clear whether he became king only of Aangom or of the Meeteis also.

Sakabda 1434 (1512 CE)

The year of Snathoipa, Sakabda 1434 (1512 CE). Aangoupampa Kyampa went out to witness public ceremonies. Meetingu Koirempa reigned on the throne for four years.[1] His total age was twenty-four years.[2] All his mother's brothers who were from the family of Leisangthem were wiped out.

1–2 According to the *Deva Ms* which begins in the reign of Meetingu Ningthoukhompa: 'Koirempa ascended the throne in Sak. 1430, and he was twenty-two years old' (and in) 'Sak. 1434 the year of Khakokpam Pangara, Meetingu Koirempa reigned on the throne for five years and died at the age of twenty-eight.'

Note

Calculations based on the *P. Ms* and *Deva. Ms* give Koirempa's birth as Sak. 1410, and Sak. 1409. This makes his age at death twenty-four or twenty-five years. Though the discrepancy of one regnal year could be explained as due to the difference between the lunar year and the solar year, Kapompa could not have been twenty-eight years old when he died, as given in the *Deva Ms*. The cheithapa Khagokpam Pangara (Sak. 1434, *Deva. Ms*) is given a year earlier than in the *P. Ms*. This discrepancy could be explained on the ground that the *Deva Ms* did not give Hiyangloy, the first Cheithapa, a date. There is the possibility of a power struggle with the Aangoms and all other rival claimants to the Aangom throne were killed. In a later entry (Sak. 1446) Nongyinphapa, a minor Meetei king, even after being taken as a ward by the Aangom king, was eliminated.

MEETINGU LAM KYAMPA, SAKABDA 1434–1445 (1512–1523 CE)

Sakabda 1434 (1512 CE)

[The year of Sanathoipa, Sakabda 1434 (1512 CE)]. Meetingu Lam Kyampa ascended the throne.

Sakabda 1435 (1513 CE)

The year of Khakokpam Panga, Sakabda 1435 (1513 CE).

Sakabda 1436 (1514 CE)

The year of Yenkhoipa, Sakabda 1436 (1514 CE). Nonginphapa was born.

Sakabda 1437 (1515 CE)

The year of Chapungpam Laka, Sakabda 1437 (1515 CE). Prices of everything were very high in that year. They were victorious over Leitang. Captured Numit Thara in battle. Meetingu Lam Kyampa had a boat race and also went out to witness ceremonies.

Sakabda 1438 (1516 CE)

The year of Khurai Kanmang Nga, Sakabda 1438 (1516 CE). Meetingu Tangcha Ngampa was born.

Sakabda 1439 (1517 CE)

The year of Hisapamcha, Sakabda 1439 (1517 CE). The *Lakpa* of Yaisakun, Sna Yangnu was born.

Sakabda 1440 (1518 CE)

The year of Chakhompam Tara, Sakabda 1440 (1518 CE). Meetingu Kapompa was born.

Sakabda 1441 (1519 CE)

The year of Haopa Khongyumpa, Sakabda 1441 (1519 CE). They were victorious over Aarai Champra. Captured Senlik in battle. Meetingu Lam Kyampa dedicated[1] the great palace.[2]

1 *Hongye:* past tense of verb *hongba/hongpa* to dedicate. Among the Meetei people every new house was dedicated to the *lai* before it was occupied regardless of who the owner was. This dedication was applied also to the house of the *lai*. First time this is entered in the record.

2 *Yumchao:* lit. big house but it referred also to the palace. These were built in the traditional way and such buildings were affordable only by a few.

Sakabda 1442 (1520 CE)

The year of Aamakcham Khomma, Sakabda 1442 (1520 CE). There was an epidemic of smallpox.

Sakabda 1443 (1521 CE)

The year of Khwai Chanouwa, Sakabda 1443 (1521 CE).

Sakabda 1444 (1522 CE)

The year of Nongpokpam Khaningwa, Sakabda 1444 (1522 CE). They were victorious over Sikhong. Captured Aasou in battle. Meetingu Lam Kyampa inaugurated Kangla.[1]

1 Kangla refers to both the area as well as the palace buildings. This inauguration refers to the whole area in view of the date 1522 CE, by which time the capital was very likely well established. This is the first time Kangla is mentioned.

Sakabda 1445 (1523 CE)

The year of Uthumpam Langhei, Sakabda 1445 (1523 CE). They were victorious over Sairem. They captured Waira Liroupa and Huiyen Lamchoupa in battle. The person who was responsible for road works, who was the wearer of a white headdress, was also allowed to wear (the strap worn by) the *chumpun huiroi*.[1] Meetei Reima Serempi was born. Meetingu Lam Kyampa reigned on the throne for eleven years and ascended to the heavens. His age was thirty-eight years.

1 *chumpun huiroi: chumpun* conflation of *chum* chin, *pun* to tie down, a chinstrap. *Huiroi:* animal tracker who uses dogs. Possibly the overseer of road works was permitted to wear a chinstrap (to hold the head dress) as the trackers did. Possibly a sign of his status.

MEETINGU NONGYINPHAPA, SAKABDA 1445–1446 (1523–1524 CE)

[The year of Uthumpam Langhei, Sakabda 1445 (1523 CE)]. Meetingu Nongyinphapa ascended the throne at the age of ten years.

Sakabda 1446 (1524 CE)

The year of Leichon Aakha, Sakabda 1446 (1524 CE). Nongyinphapa's mother was taken to wife by Aangoupampa Kyampa (the king of Aangom). When Aangoupampa Kyampa decorated himself with *Ureksek Chasangpa*,[1] Chaningphabi, the queen of the Meeteis, told him that he, who belonged to the house of Aangom, was not entitled to wear it. Aangoupampa Kyampa was angry at this and he killed both Nongyingphapa and his mother. Both died at the village of Aakakum. (Nongyinphapa) reigned for one year.

1 *Ureksek Chasangpa:* egret's feather which had been dyed red. This was used in the headdress of the king of the Meeteis. Obviously the king of Aangom, Aangoupampa, was very powerful as he took the Meetei king's wife after the death of her husband and the heir to the Meetei throne became his ward. By wearing the Meetei king's emblem he was indirectly attempting to assume the throne of the Meetei king.

MEETINGU KAPOMPA, SAKABDA 1446–1464 (1524–1542 CE)

[The year of Leichon Aakha, Sakabda 1446 (1524 CE).] Meetingu Kapompa[1] ascended the throne. They were victorious over Sampum. Captured Langmeipa as prisoner in battle.

1 Kapompa: Nongyinphapa's half-brother by another mother. According to *Ningthourol Lampuba* Kapompa's mother was Meetei Reima Chaklai Tangkhombi.

Sakabda 1447 (1525 CE)

The year of Moirang Kapchonpa, Sakabda 1447 (1525 CE).

Sakabda 1448 (1526 CE)

The year of Hinaopa Khanarok, Sakabda 1448 (1526 CE).

Sakabda 1449 (1527 CE)

The year of Laisram Khampa, Sakabda 1449 (1527 CE). They were victorious over Chakpa Pungpun. Captured Lengsit in battle.

Sakabda 1450 (1528 CE)

The year of Charoipam Kokwa, Sakabda 1450 (1528 CE). They erected a big mound[1] at Lampun.

1 *Pungchao:* big mound, a commemoration for success in battle or a memorial for the deceased kings or queens.

Sakabda 1451 (1529 CE)

The year of Mayanglampam Laya, Sakabda 1451 (1529 CE). They were victorious over Lamkai. Captured Yekcham and Leireng in battle. Erected a big mound at Khairam.

Sakabda 1452 (1530 CE)

The year of Aongnam Kamkhai, Sakabda 1452 (1530 CE). Meetei Reima Serempi was married.[1]

1 *luhongye* married: interchangeably used with *nuhongye*, past tense of *nuhongpa (Sak. 1503)*. *Nu* indicates female in the archaic Meeteilon, and in a more polite form stands for the female genital organ. *Nuhongpa* is now replaced by *luhongba* meaning to marry (in *Meeteilon* n and 1 are used interchangeably). This could be a scribal editing. The term *nuhongpa* or *luhongpa* is used for both male and female. *Hongpa (hongba)* means to dedicate. *Lu* also means head.

Sakabda 1453 (1531 CE)

The year of Khuraithangkok Manpa, Sakabda 1453 (1531 CE). They were victorious over Sampum. They captured Konchang Lanchungpa. Thamlengpa and Morapa were also captured. Waikha of Khacha died. There was an epidemic of smallpox.

Sakabda 1454 (1532 CE)

The year of Nganglom Sekhara, Sakabda 1454 (1532 CE). They were victorious over Tuson. They captured Aarai Champra and Langka Sonpa in battle.

Sakabda 1455 (1533 CE)

The year of Laiton Sera, Sakabda 1455 (1533 CE). They were victorious over Takhen.[1] Captured Aarai Champra, Tolaikuppa, Lonma Thangpa and Sanongpa in battle. Ningthoucham Lontai died.

1 Takhen: refers to modern Tripura.

Sakabda 1456 (1534 CE)

The year of Wairokpa Lamma, Sakabda 1456 (1534 CE). The canal Takhelkhong was dug. There was a cattle epidemic.

Sakabda 1457 (1535 CE)

The year of Thingkucham Yuhenpa, Sakabda 1457 (1535 CE). Many more cattle died.

Sakabda 1458 (1536 CE)

The year of Leichon Khonga Lonlu Manpa, Sakabda 1458 (1536 CE). The road to Tekhao was opened. Khongnampi, Tekhao Reima[1] left for Tekhao. Elephant Tekhao Ngampa[2] arrived. They also began to make *Tekhao lu*[3] from that time. Aniseed[4] was also introduced

1 Tekhao *Reima:* a Meetei maiden who became the queen of Tekhao. First mention of intermarriage with Tekhao, broadly corresponding to modern Assam.
2 Elephant Tekhao Ngampa was the bride wealth. Bride price existed amongst royalty. Elephants were the most desired bride wealth.
3 *Tekhao lu:* a fishing trap made of bamboo of Assamese design and origin.
4 *Phoupu manpi:* aniseed.

Sakabda 1459 (1537 CE)

The year of Lamlei Thamanpa, Sakabda 1459 (1537 CE). Aangoupampa Lanhang Ngampa was born.

Sakabda 1460 (1538 CE)

The year of Aatai Aa, Sakabda 1460 (1538 CE). Satpam was wiped out. There was a great flood. No one could wash their face or hands or feet.

Sakabda 1461 (1539 CE)

The year of Wairokpam Snarok, Sakabda 1461 (1539 CE). Meetingu Kapompa ascended the throne.[1] He had his ears pierced right away. And he also held the boat race and presided over public celebration.

1 *Phampan Kai:* ascended the throne. Since Kapompa already was on the throne after both his half-brother Nongyinphapa and his mother, the Meetei queen, were killed by the Aangom king, this entry could imply his publicly asserting his position as the rightful king. Otherwise the phrase is ambiguous. There must have been a regency in the beginning of his reign as he was only six years old when he became king. This would agree with the date of the death of his father (thirty-two years).

Sakabda 1462 (1540 CE)

The year of Laimingnga, Sakabda 1462 (1540 CE). Meetingu Kapompa took revenge.[1]

1 *Lam khumye:* took revenge. Very likely on the Aangom king who murdered his half-brother, Nongyinphapa.

Sakabda 1463 (1541 CE)

The year of Aaton Keisangpa, Sakabda 1463 (1541 CE). They were victorious over Kane. Captured Wangpan Lakpa, the king of Kane and (his wife) Haonu Leichonnu in battle. There was an epidemic of smallpox.

Sakabda 1464 (1542 CE)

The year of Tarinapa Chaopa, Sakabda 1464 (1542 CE). When the king of Kapo[1] marched with an army to invade the land, they (Meeteis) were victorious.[2] Meetingu Kapompa died after reigning for eighteen years on the throne and his age was twenty-six years.

1 *Kapocha:* lit. the child of Kapo, could refer to the king or the people of Kapo (Kabaw).

2 *Ngamlouye:* from verb *Ngampa* to be victorious. The ending *louye* is not only past tense but also indicates that those (the Meeteis) not only won the battle, but after having won the battle, remained in their own land. If the attackers had won the battle, the verb would be *ngamkhiye*.

MEETINGU TANGCHAMPA, SAKABDA 1464-1467 (1542-1545 CE)

Sakabda 1464 (1542 CE)

[The year of Tarinapa Chaopa, Sakabda 1464 (1542 CE)]. Meetingu Tangchampa[1] ascended the throne at the age of twenty-nine years. At the monthly memorial[2] for Meetingu Kapompa, Thokchaochampa the *Pukhranpa*[3] was killed by Paopam Phana. Haopa Chena son of Thokchaochampa the *Pukhranpa* fled for protection to Aangoupampa Loicha Ngampa. Paopam Phana demanded the surrender to him of the fugitive, which Aangoupampa refused. Paopam Phapa,[4] questioning on what ground the fugitive was not delivered to him, tried to slay Aangoupampa Loicha Ngampa. But Thokchao Champa Chena, who was hiding behind the door in Aangoupampa's place, killed Paopam Phapa. It was very windy from the beginning of the month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November). Meetei Reima Taipompi gave birth to Mapum Takhen.[5]

1 Tangchampa: no indication how he was related to the previous king, Kapompa. But he could not be Kapompa's son as he was twenty-nine and Kapompa died at the age of twenty-four. Possibly another half-brother. This gives some reason why brothers inherited and why there was no primogeniture, since given early mortality the sons would be too young.

2 *Than thokpata.* The meaning of *than* is obscure. Possibly scribal error for *tha* month, *thokpa* to come out, but here the appointed day. At the death of a person the mourning period for the family lasts for a whole year and the departed is remembered every month till the anniversary celebration takes place. This was a practice amongst the Meetei people and

remains so. The term used is *tha thokpa*, the monthly remembrance day. With the imposition of Hinduism of the Bengal Caitanyavite cult, some of the terms came to be Bengalicised, and some entries speak of it as *din thokpa* in place of *tha thokpa* (*din* Bengali for day). But the essence of the ritual acts remained the same. The anniversary rite may reflect the age-old custom of secondary burial in which the remains are exhumed and bones and skull reburied, usually in a pot or ossuary. After this, either the departed souls are remembered individually on an annual basis, and/or all the departed souls in that family are remembered collectively once a year. The date in the latter case is a matter of choice to the convenience of all the extended family relatives, while in the former case it is usually kept on the anniversary of death.

3 *Pukhranpa:* a post held by one of the ten *(Ningthou Pongpa)* close advisers to the Meetei king. He was also responsible for carrying the special bag at the time of the king's coronation.

4 Paopam Phapa: Phapa misspelling for Phana.

5 *Mapum Takhen:* could mean one who represented the whole of Takhen: possibly referring to the future king of Takhen.

Sakabda 1465 (1543 CE)

The year of Hinaopam Khoma, Sakabda 1465 (1543 CE).

Sakabda 1466 (1544 CE)

The year of Yirom Phana, Sakabda 1466 (1544 CE).

Sakabda 1467 (1545 CE)

The year of Nukram Chuta, Sakabda 1467 (1545 CE). Meetingu Tangchampa presided over public celebration. Yipemma Snayanpi was born. Meetingu Tangchampa died. He reigned on the throne for three years. His age was thirty-one years.

MEETINGU CHALAMPA, SAKABDA 1467–1484 (1545–1562 CE)

Sakabda 1467 (1545 CE)

The year of Nukram Chuta, Sakabda 1467 (1545 CE). Meetingu Chalampa[1] ascended the throne at the age of thirty-two years.

1 Chalampa could not have been the son of Tangchampa as Tangchampa was thirty-one years old when he died. Presumably another half-brother.

Sakabda 1468 (1546 CE)

The year of Chapungpam Laka, Sakabda 1468 (1546 CE). Yipemma[1] Snahal was born.

1 Yipemma: a princess or a female member of the royal family.

Sakabda 1469 (1547 CE)

The year of Tompa Langkon Chumpa, Sakabda 1469 (1547 CE). Meetingu Mungyampa was born. Captured Tangkhun Aa Khatlang[1] and Nura Thempa.

1 Tangkhun Aa Khatlang: alternative reading, Aa Khatlang of the Tang village *(khun)*. Tangkhun could also refer to a group of people who were resident aliens in a village (from *tangba* to take shelter in someone's place) and who were given that name by the original inhabitants of the village.

Sakabda 1470 (1548 CE)

The year of Yangngampam Khoiri, Sakabda 1470 (1548 CE). Aangoupampa died. Khuraileima[1] Khuroi Ngampi was born. Meetingu Chalampa took revenge.

1 *Khuraileima:* lit. queen of Khurai. Title used for the wife of the king of Aangom. It implies that the Khurai area was within the Aangom principality before the confederacy of the seven *yeks*.

Sakabda 1471 (1549 CE)

The year of Nganglounga, Sakabda 1471 (1549 CE). Aangoupampa Langloingampa died. Aangom was devastated. Chongtham Nurapa was also killed. Khunchaopa the *Lakpa* of Khwai[1] was born.

1 *Kkwairakpa:* the *Lakpa* or chief of Khwai. This term is used for the first time.

Sakabda 1472 (1550 CE)

The year of Heirem Lapa, Sakabda 1472 (1550 CE). Aangoupampa Tuson Ngampa ascended the throne (of Aangom). He died in the same year he ascended (the throne).

Sakabda 1473 (1551 CE)

The year of Lemlei Thenka, Sakabda 1473 (1551 CE). Aangoupampa Lanlum Ngampa Womma ascended the throne (of Aangom). Khuraileima Tharoingampi was married. When a big tree fell in the Hao (area) in the southern location, all the Meetei people[1] mistook it for a march by the people of Takhen to attack the land.

1 Since Meeteis are explicitly mentioned in this context, it implies that Meeteis had become the ruling power and guardian of the land.

Sakabda 1474 (1552 CE)

The year of Maichampa, Sakabda 1474 (1552 CE). The road to Phayeng was complete. The women[1] of Langthang raided Punleichen.[2] They hurled about missiles of dry clay lumps and some were killed. There was fierce fighting.[3]

1 *Nurabi* of Langthang: Women of Langthang.

2 *Punleichen nai.* This could be read in more than one way. (a) If we take Punleichen as a place name, the scene is that of the women attacking the people of Punleichen with dry earth lumps. Men used burning dry clay balls to set houses on fire from great distance by shooting them on the roof with a bow. Likewise, the women used dry clay lumps to raid a place. (b)

Punleichen. If we take *pun* to mean earth pitcher and *lei* the flower worn by women in the ear or hair as they come out to draw water, *chen* short form of *chenba* to run, then the scene is slightly different. The reading could be: The women of Langthang, decorated with flowers *(lei),* ran *(chen)* with pitchers *(pun)* on their heads, as some hurled dry clay lumps at them when they came to draw water. And some were killed.' As it was also the custom for women, in the past, to go together to draw water, this translation is possible.

3 *Lachou:* scribal error for *lanchou,* from *lan* battle, *chao* short form of *achouba* great, great battle.

Sakabda 1475 (1553 CE)

The year of Thongngaipa Pamtenpa Sakabda 1475 (1553 CE). They completed (clearing) the area of Khutong. Meetingu Chalampa captured many wild animals at Kongyangphai. Erected the mound Sayampung.[1]

1 *Sayampung:* lit. mound of many beasts. A commemorative mound to celebrate the capture of many wild animals. The place still bears this name.

Sakabda 1476 (1554 CE)

The year of Yirom Khampa, Sakabda 1476 (1554 CE). Ningthem's[1] great palace caught fire. They were victorious over Yiru. Captured the groups of Aareng and Puthum[2] people as prisoners at the battle.

1 Ningthem: first time the term is used to designate the king.

2 Aareng and Puthum: possibly different ethnic groups.

Sakabda 1477 (1555 CE)

The year of Songleram Maimu, Sakabda 1477 (1555 CE). Heiyentu Leisangkhong[1] canal was dug as a memorial to the victory over Yiru. The wind was very strong and almost all the houses were damaged. Chongpombi[2] was born.

1 Leisangkhong: the area where this canal was dug still bears this name.

2 Chongpombi: use of b in place of p is found in some places. This may be due to the scribe, and not necessarily replacement of p with b at this time.

Sakabda 1478 (1556 CE)

The year of Thingpaicham Pangan (Pangngan),[1] Sakabda 1478 (1556 CE). Pakhangpa of Yaisakun attacked the village of Sama. He was killed in battle. Satpam Chaopa, Kapui Maimu, Hijam Khangsera and Yirom Khampa, these four also were killed (in battle). Meetingu Mungyampa's[2] mother Lamphen Ngampi died.

1 Thingpaicham Pangan. Pangan (Pangngan) is the term used for Muslim in Manipur, but he was given a Meetei surname, Thingpaicham, indicating that he had been integrated into the Meetei social structure. First time the term Pangan is used.

2 Meetingu Mungyampa's mother died: Mungyampa becomes the next king. This section of the record obviously was edited after Mungyampa became king. Similar scribal editing in relation to kings, princes, queens and princesses, etc., is found throughout the *Kumpapa*.

Sakabda 1479 (1557 CE)

The year of Pangaracha[1] **Khara, Sakabda 1479 (1557 CE).** A boat named Matra was made. Monsampi the Mayang Leima left (for Mayang). Snayangnu, the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun, was born. In the month of **Lamta**[2] (February/March), Aangoupampa Lamtapa was born.

1 *Pangaracha:* a conflation of two words, *Panga* short form of *Pangan*, *racha* for *raja*. He may have been the chief of the Muslim community.

2 *Lamta* is the name of the month February/March. First time the month is recorded. Meeteis follow the lunar calendar and the months have no exact equivalent months in the Western calendar.

Sakabda 1480 (1558 CE)

The year of Tapa Nganglapa, Sakabda 1480 (1558 CE). The stones for the marketplace were dragged down. One stone was dragged by the Khuncha (Institute)[1] and another stone was dragged by the Naicha (Institute).[2] One of these stones was named Charaipa and the other Namsa.[3] These stones were from Aoinam. They attacked Lanhang and took Kapu as prisoner in battle. The stone Charai Kapong[4] was erected at the Aahanlup Institute building.

1–2 *Khuncha* and *Naicha*. Both were institutions. Laipham and Khapham *Panas* belonged to the former and Aahanlup and Naharup *Panas* belonged to the latter.

3 Both these stones, Charaipa and Namsa, were erected in the market-place. The stone which was at the southern side of the market fell down in Sak. 1608, killing one man. In Sak. 1651 (at the time of Garibniwaz) an entry is made of a stone which was erected in the royal market *(Sna keithen)* being dragged at the Mongpa Hanpa grove and *Hanuman's* image was carved on it. This stone with the carving still stands there.

4 Charai Kapong: probably another stone from Aoinam.

Sakabda 1481 (1559 CE)

The year of Sinaipa Kateng, Sakabda 1481 (1559 CE). Aanan was attacked. Took Nongningkhoi, the king of Aanan as prisoner in battle.

Sakabda 1482 (1560 CE)

The year of Tonpa Leichonpa, Sakabda 1482 (1560 CE). (The people of) Thingnong were herded together[1], and captured Wanglenpa, females Senhongnu and Senthongpi, also Senhoupa and Sumleng as prisoners. All five were captured. They also herded together (all the people of) Meinang and captured Likhen. They also herded together (all the people of) Narum and captured Lintai.

1 *Khomme:* lit. it means collected or herded together. This verb has the meaning that all the people from a particular area have been taken as a whole.

Sakabda 1483 (1561 CE)

The year of Samloipam Khoicha, Sakabda 1483 (1561 CE). The people of Thingnong and Yingthi were herded together.

Sakabda 1484 (1562 CE)

The year of Thongaipam Ningthoupa, Sakabda 1484 (1562 CE).

Meetingu Chalampa died. He reigned for seventeen years on the throne. He was forty-eight years of age.

MEETINGU MUNGYAMPA, SAKABDA 1484–1519 (1562–1597 CE)

Sakabda 1484 (1562 CE)

[The year of Thongaipam Ningthoupa, Sakabda 1484 (1562 CE).] Meetingu Mungyampa ascended the throne[1] at the age of eighteen years. Yipemma Keirempi died. While pursuing Sirang[2] in Sakang, Hitham Tharoi and Wangkheirakpam Naichapai, these two along with seven other people died. They introduced decorative embroidery on shirts where beeswax was used.[3] Wearing of such shirts began from that period.

1 Scribal note on top of the *P. Ms* leaf 'Mungyampa became king'.

2 Sirang: obscure. May be an ethnic name.

3 Beeswax is used in batik and *Meetei Khamenchatpa* is a design in batik. Embroidery on the border of the ladies' skirts had already been introduced and now men's clothes are being enhanced.

Sakabda 1485 (1563 CE)

The year of Moirangthem Khampa, Sakabda 1485 (1563 CE). Lamyen in *Khamaran*[1] was attacked.[2] (The area of) Thangkang was captured. They also captured guns. Choupha Mangtra, Chaoupha Womningnapa, Aamangta, Penatari and Lakya Phara, these five were taken as prisoners. While pursuing Siran[3] at the main village of Tangkhun, Tekcham Khoipa and Khampa Utongpa died.

1 Khamaran: Kha is South. May read as Khamaram, m and n are used interchangeably (a scribal choice), referring to regions south of Manipur, in the Kabaw area, a place name.

2 *Nai:* from *lan naba* to attack.

3 Siran: most likely the same as Sirang of the previous entry, who threatened the inhabitants of the village.

Sakabda 1486 (1564 CE)

The year of Taopam Khampa Paotampa, Sakabda 1486 (1564 CE). Meetingu Mungyampa and Meetei Reima Serampi dedicated the erection of a wooden pillar[1] in memory of Meetingu Chalampa.

1 *Ukrong.* The ritual erection of wooden pillars like that of the ritual erection of mounds in memory of the dead was a practice amongst the people. They were usually about 10–12 ft in height or more. In this case it was in memory of the late king. First time *Ukrong* is mentioned in the Kumpapa.

Sakabda 1487 (1565 CE)

The year of Konsapa Lamma, Sakabda 1487 (1565 CE). Meetingu Mungyampa participated in a boat race. He also went out to witness ceremonies. While returning immediately from Suknu, the boat capsized by Nakpak mountain range. Yipemma Serampi and her maid Khongsem, both of them died. Sna Yangnu, the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun, was married. Meetei Reima Serempi's mother, the Satpam maiden, died.

Sakabda 1488 (1566 CE)

The year of Heisnam Maknang, Sakabda 1488 (1566 CE). Meetingu Mungyampa participated in the boat race. Also inspected places. Elephant Phanampa was born. Mayang Reima Tarungngampi left (for Mayang). Aangounpampa Lanhang Chaipa was born. Khurai Leima Kapompi died.

Sakabda 1489 (1567 CE)

The year of Khurai Ngasa, Sakabda 1489 (1567 CE). They were victorious over Chakpa Pungpun. Konongsa and Pangnganpa, both of them were taken as prisoners in battle. (As the water of) Nongchengpat lake was released[1] Meinang Aa[2] died. Khuntrakpa Khenpa also died while crossing over the lake by boat. Aangoupampa Kareng Touphapa dedicated a canal.[3] Yipungo Serem Ngampa was born.

1 *Thai:* Sent. Here it means the water which was dammed up was released. Nongchet *pat* or lake also called Nungchet Pukhri is in the Kangla complex. It is known for its underwater current and even in the British period boats were capsized in this lake.

2 Meinang Aa: could be either the name of a man or from the Aa group.

3 *Khong:* a canal, a ravine or a battle trench.

Sakabda 1490 (1568 CE)

The year of Chongtham Thanga, Sakabda 1490 (1568 CE). Yipemma Nungthil Chaipi was born. They were victorious over Chakpa Chirang. Yipemma Chirang Chaipi also was born.

Sakabda 1491 (1569 CE)

The year of Khuraithen Lakpa, Sakabda 1491 (1569 CE). They were victorious over Kharai. Captured Yangpa, Hangpa and Marong, all three of them, as prisoners in battle. Yipungo Kharai Ngampa was born. Many elephants which were the bride wealth for Kapo Reima, Sna Langmeirempi, arrived. Aangoupampa Lanhampa dedicated a canal. Meetei Reima Serempi dedicated a tree. Many boats were made at Kouparen.

Sakabda 1492 (1570 CE)

The year of Tari Heirangkhong, Sakabda 1492 (1570 CE). Kapo Reima, Sna Langmeirempi left[1] (for Kapo). Kancham the king of Mangsa was involved in a fight in Mangsamkei resulting in his death. Meetei Reima Serempi took her seat at the Aametpa Institute.[2] They attacked Sakang. Took Monthoupu as a prisoner in battle. When they attacked Nongtam, Sankhomma was killed. When Maipa Aametpa (Institute)[3] attacked Lamkang, Maipa Kwakpa from the family of Khaitem was killed in battle.

1 Sna Langmeirempi left: there is no mention of the place she was going to, but since she is titled 'Kapo Reima' queen of Kapo, and also as the bride wealth had arrived, she obviously left for Kapo to join her groom. Similar entries are made when Meetei maidens who were married to be the queens of other countries leave the country.

2 *Aametpa Loisang.* This is the women's court. Cases which involved women of the royal household were tried by this court. Even when a king became involved, and even if it was of an intimate nature, this court took up the case. The queen normally sat in this court. *Aametpa Loisang* could also mean institute of female physicians, including midwives.

3 *Maipa Aametpa. Maipa Aametpa* refers to physicians. They treated the sick by way of massage. This art is still in use. They also had an established institute, *Aametpa Loisang,* shortened form *of Maipa Aametpa Loisang,* which was different from the women's court, *Aametpa Loisang*.

Sakabda 1493 (1571 CE)

The year of Aaton Urumpa, Sakabda 1493 (1571 CE). They went to attack Samsok. Captured Lengyan in battle. Meetingu Mungyampa did not take part in the Hyangkei boat race[1] as he had a fever. But Ningthou Muwa took his place in the boat race. Thoukhaipa collected the arrows (which were shot at the archery contest).[2] While attacking Aanan, Aamom Aayampa, Keisam Muwa and Thingpaicham Pipa lost their lives.

1 Hyangkei boat race. The boat race was an annual royal festival and still takes place in the same month. The name of the month Hiyangkei was derived from the festival. *Hi* boat, *yang* from *yangpa* to be fast, *Hiyang* fast barge. *Kei:* tiger or granary.

2 collected arrows: refers to the *Ukai kappa,* archery display, which followed the boat race.

Sakabda 1494 (1572 CE)

The year of Laitonjam Phanampa, Sakabda 1494 (1572 CE). A comet appeared in the sky.[1] Yipungo Lamompa died. (The area of) Kapo Maru (was defeated and) the people were herded together.

1 *Nongthouta lairen pai: Lairen* or python, *nongthouta* in the sky, *pai* from *paiba* to fly. Literally python flew in the sky. Refers to comet. First time a comet is recorded.

Sakabda 1495 (1573 CE)

The year of Khakokpam Panga, Sakabda 1495 (1573 CE). Yipungo Khomma the *Pukhranpa* was born. Sna Yangnu, the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun died. *Kampong* was planted in Mangpat lake.[1] Attacked Mungpirakpa and Khutsam of Kapo. Herded the people of Kapo. Kakching, Lengkhu, Waikok, and the village of Seeri, these four villages were also

herded. They were victorious over Sama village of the Kapui. Took Aareng[2] as prisoner in battle. Yipemma Koirempi was born.

1 *Kampong mangpat thai. Kampong* could refer to the aquatic plant whose fruit the people in Manipur still enjoy. *Mangpat:* name of the area (by Mang lake), *thai* to plant or to send away. Alternative reading: Kampong Mangpat was sent away.

2 Aarengpu: *pu* suffix to indicate object of sentence.

Sakabda 1496 (1574 CE)

The year of Nonglampam Khontou, Sakabda 1496 (1574 CE). Food was scarce. Many pigs, dogs and fowls died. Meetingu Mungyampa was victorious over Samkhun village. Captured Yangngampa and Meetei Chong, these two were captured in battle. Aaton the *Nongthonpa* died. Sna Hekpi, the Kapo Reima, left (for Kapo). They herded together (the people of) Thingnong, Yingthi and Tarang. Laiyingthou[1] killed ten people when (the villages of) Khoichu and Langmei were being divided. They held a friendly contest with the Lupa Luhup.[2]

1 *Laiyingthou:* could be translated 'king who is like a Lai' or divine king. This shows either an influence from outside contact or an indication of the rise in the status of the king.

2 Lupa Luhup: *luhup* literally means head cover, and *Lupa* is silver. 'The branch of the Tangkhul tribe, to which the name of Luhupa is given by the Manipuris from Luhup a hat or head covering. The term Luhupa is applied to the most savage of the Tongkhuls, who inhabit the hills to the north and east, farthest removed from the Manipur Valley, from the fact of their being almost incessantly engaged in feuds and from their wearing, whilst so engaged, a peculiar helmet-shaped complicated head dress' (Brown 1874:37). 'He (Loohoopa) wears his hair in a peculiar style, shaving it off on either side and leaving a ridge on the top like that of a helmet" (McCulloch 1859:67). As all the male Tangkhuns did not wear silver head covers, *lupa* (silver) here is a scribal error of *nupa* male. Alternative reading: they held a friendly contest with the Luhup (people) over silver.

Sakabda 1497 (1575 CE)

The year of Nampucham Luwang, Sakabda 1497 (1575 CE). They were victorious over Lanhang Huitok. Meetingu Mungyampa dedicated the great palace.

Sakabda 1498 (1576 CE)

The year of Mupa Khutheipa,[1] Sakabda 1498 (1576 CE). Laiyingthou Khakempa was born. They were victorious over Lanhang Yanglei.[2] Naicharakpam Sanong, Mutum Khapa, Kapa Lasoi, Kangapam Mayampa and Snayangnu died (in battle). Koirempa the *Pukhranpa* dedicated a tree.

1 Mupa *Khutheipa*. *Khutheipa* may indicate that Mupa was a skilled person.

2 Lanhang Yanglei. Yanglei perhaps were of a different ethnic group from the Huitok mentioned in the previous year, but both living in Lanhang.

Sakabda 1499 (1577 CE)

The year of Haisnam Wakching, Sakabda 1499 (1577 CE). Khunchaopa the *Lakpa* of Khwai went out to witness ceremonies. A reward consisting of Lamkhambi[1] and a sword

in a silver scabbard was put out as a bet that Lanhang would be attacked. Lanhang was attacked. Ningthou Tara (king of Tara) and his servant Tora, the chief of the village, both died. A mound was erected on top of Chingkon hill. The land of the Kapuis was inspected.

1 *Lamkhambi.* Very obscure. It is definitely a feminine name. If the name refers to a lady then the assumption is that she will be given in marriage to the one who proved to be the best warrior.

Sakabda 1500 (1578 CE)

The year of Khwa Lontai, Sakabda 1500 (1578 CE). Tonbi was attacked. They captured Khongtou and Wanlong in battle. Hitam Waikhwa also died. They decorated themselves with Maobi (bamboo) seeds[1] and (assembled) in Chinga (hill). Yipungo Lanhang Chaipa died. Yipemma Thingkrachaipi was born. Yipemma Koirempi was also born.

1 *Maobi maru. Maobi* is one of the variety of bamboo which has a thin wall. Bamboo flowers and seeds only once in fifty years. Such rare occasions are taken as a forecast of famine. The occasion was perhaps an appeasement to avoid a possible calamity in the land.

Sakabda 1501 (1579 CE)

The year of Sarangthem Ngaikhong, Sakabda 1501 (1579 CE). (The public) festival of pulling a big wooden seat[1] took place. Some Haos pulled the earrings off the ears of Koirempa the *Pukhranpa* and fled with them. They were victorious over (the people of) Lamphen. Yipungo Khunchampa went to Khamaran and obtained two elephants named Khamlou. While they were dragging down the big wooden seat at Mangsamkei, the bridge at Heinouthong gave way and Yipemma Sarem Ngampi fell off and was drowned. A long wooden bath[2] was made.

1 *Phanchao Chingye: Phanchao* big wooden seat, usually flat, *chingye* past tense of *chingpa* to pull or drag. The dragging of the big wooden seat is similar to that of the dragging down of big stones, in the hills. When big stones are dragged down from the mountain normally the sponsors or their appointees sit on it while it is being dragged. This festival ends with great feasting with dancing and the sponsors do it in order to increase their status in the community.

2 *Sangkhu:* conflation of two words, *sang* from *sangpa* long, *khu* from *Khudeng* a long wooden bowl or bath.

Sakabda 1502 (1580 CE)

The year of Thongcham Panga, Sakabda 1502 (1580 CE). Meetingu Mungyampa dedicated a tree. Was victorious over Mayon. Captured Yurumpi and Yurumpa as prisoners in battle. Attacked Chingsong and was victorious. Captured Santang in battle. Meetei Reima Mongkhom Ngampi was born. Khakokpam Pangan, Laisamma and Kharoi Yotlei maiden, these three were punished in Thongehao by making them eat bamboo shoots[1] from which they died for crimes they had committed.

1 *Soichin:* fresh bamboo shoots. In this case perhaps they were poisonous. Capital punishment by self-poisoning or probably an ordeal.

Sakabda 1503 (1581 CE)

The year of Sarangthem Aakha Sakabda 1503 (1581 CE). Yipemma Thingkara Chaipi died of smallpox. They were victorious over Lanhang Phaman. Captured the chief of Lanhang[1] in battle. Tuson Lampam Khoiya and Lita died. Maram Leima Pongu and Khunpi were married[2] to (the Meetei king).

1 Lanhangpu. As Lanhang Phaman is a place and *Lanhangpu* could be a conflation of Lanhang and Mapu, chief of. *Pu* also could be the suffix indicating the object, meaning the whole of Lanhang. But if the whole village was taken as prisoner, the verb would be *Khomme*, from *khomba* to herd together, to capture all.

2 *Nuhonglakye: lakye* indicates that the women were married and later came to the groom's place. The term is different from the *Nuhongye* meaning 'was married'. One of them is entered as *Maram Reima*, indicating that she was a maiden of Maram but Reima or queen subsequent to the marriage.

Sakabda 1504 (1582 CE)

The year of Sarangthem Lukhoi, Sakabda 1504 (1582 CE). A boat named Marampa was made. Yipungo Yaima the *Lakpa* of Khurai was born. While attacking Somsok of Kapo, Khurailok Aa died.

Sakabda 1505 (1583 CE)

The year of Khimtongpa, Sakabda 1505 (1583 CE). There was a landslide by the king's (palace). Yengkokpam Pukchao died at Sangaipung while he was in the Loi areas.[1] The *Maipas drank yu*[2] and they also shared out the meat of mithun. The Haos of Maram came and killed the wife of Haopa Champang Ngara and his daughter-in-law, in Khoirikhun village, in the hills.

1 *Loi Tongtuna* from *Loi Tongpa:* lit. because of his riding on the *Loi*, which is ambiguous. Could mean while attending to the affairs in the *loi* areas. *Loi* areas are those which were subjugated and paid tribute to the king. If he was sent to *loi*, a deportation, the most likely phrase would have been *loi tharingeita, or loita leiringeita*.

2 *Maipas:* here refers to the religious officiates who are different from the *Maipas* who were physicians. *Yu* fermented rice beer. Drinking of *yu* often accompanied religious rites where spirit possession was sought.

Sakabda 1506 (1584 CE)

The year of Wahengpam Tora, Sakabda 1506 (1584 CE). Khuraileima Takhen Chaipi was born. Elephant Mente Ngampa was brought out from Takhen. Many wild animals were caught at Yarou. While attacking Thangkan main village, Konsapa Langmei, Mayanglampam Charang challenged (the people of) Maram to battle and made a barricade in the hill. Boat Langmeirokpa was made. The *Maipas* drank *yu*. Horses ran wild.[1]

1 The *Maipas* drank *yu*. Horses ran wild. An incomprehensible connection of sentences.

Sakabda 1507 (1585 CE)

The year of Wompam Tora, Sakabda 1507 (1585 CE). Mayang Leima Koirempi left (for Mayang). (As the waters of) Tenthapung lake overflowed heads taken in battle were carried off (by the flood waters). On account of a male pig which had a crooked knee and whose ears had been pierced being caught[1] at the Langmaiching hill, Ningthem's great palace caught fire. The fire spread and burnt the Aangom (compound). While attacking Somsok of Kapo, Aakhom Koipa, Kapo Mikon and Heiruwa, all these three, were killed.

1 *Phatuna: phaba* to catch, *tuna* on account of, 'on account of a male pig, etc., being caught, etc., the palace caught fire'. Extremely disconnected. Meaning very obscure. Possibly a reference to animal sacrifice.

Sakabda 1508 (1586 CE)

The year of Yenkhoipam Muwa, Sakabda 1508 (1586 CE). Yipungo Sanongpa the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun was born. Mayampa, son of Aangoupampa and Chingsong Chaipa, died. Aangoupampa's son Sekmom was born. Kyang Khomma also died. Skilled workers drank *yu* and ate millet.[1] Khangpu, king[2] of Maram, was captured.

1 *Chayin:* millet.

2 *Ningthou:* term meaning king, used differently from Meetingu. The former referred to chiefs when compared to Meetingu, meaning 'Lord of the Meeteis'.

Sakabda 1509 (1587 CE)

The year of Hisapam Tapa, Sakabda 1509 (1587 CE). The earthen plinth for the market was built. Yipemma Changpompi's mother, Heirok Nganpi, died. (The people of) Yaisakun feasted by the roadside. They also built a mound by the road. The *Maipas* also drank *yu*.[1] Sanchen was attacked.

1 *Maipas* drinking *yu* before the attack on Sanchen could refer to a ritual act where they sought the favour of the *Lai*.

Sakabda 1510 (1588 CE)

The year of Khurai Haoram, Sakabda 1510 (1588 CE). Cannibals from Khaki[1] arrived. Yipemma Takhel Chaipi was married. Khunchaopa the *Lakpa* of Khwai dedicated a tree. Chukhi snatched the spirit.[2] In the month of **Wakching** (December/ January) at the time of ploughing the paddy fields, there was an earthquake. While Meetingu Mungyampa feasted by the roadside at Yaisakun, a big mound was erected by the roadside.[3]

1 Khaki *misa chapa: mi* human, *sa* meat, *chapa* to eat, those who ate human flesh from Khaki. Though the term Khaki is usually understood to mean China, there is no indication as to which part of China is referred to.

2 Chukhi *na* (by) *thawai* (spirit or soul) *rakye* (snatched): The sentence 'Chukhi snatched the spirit' could mean either 'made the person die physically' or 'caused such a stress that the person was as if dead', i.e. made him feel empty and hollow like shadow through black art. Chukhi is an earlier form of pronouncing a Hindu term Jugi, a mendicant or a *sanyasi;*

alternatively it may refer to a man of the Jugi caste whose profession was spinning and weaving. (Compare Bhuyan 1968:234.)

3 The big mound at Yaisakul: refers to the same mound which was referred in Sak. 1509. It is likely that the erection was complete and the king himself with the people was celebrating its completion. This mound still stands.

Sakabda 1511 (1589 CE)

The year of Loitongpam Tengkong, Sakabda 1511 (1589 CE). Yipemma Mayangnu was born. Aangoupampa Mungyamchaipa was born. Many boats were made in the area of the Tangkhun. Death occurred among the people of Khacharaicha. After performing appeasement rites to Leirong Kokoupi and Nungkarang Koupi, death among the people abated. Elephant Kharoingampa became wild and killed Kaborampam Aaton. A female elephant arrived from Kapo. While Konsapa raided Tonpi, Laisram Musin was killed. Konsapa raided Yuthak.[1]

1 Yuthak *nai:* Yuthak is the same place as mentioned in Sak. 1514, Yuthak of Kapo.

Sakabda 1512 (1590 CE)

The year of Hawaipa, Sakabda 1512 (1590 CE). While attacking Changoupung, Lemchong, the *Khunlakpa*[1] of Kumphi and Kanupam Khoiya, all these three were killed. The tribute paying *loi* Mayangs in Aatengpa were herded together. Rats ate the paddy crop. Yipemma Koirempi was married.

1 *Khunlakpa: Khun* village, *Lakpa* chief: chief of a village.

Sakabda 1513 (1591 CE)

The year of Khurai Chingsompa, Sakabda 1513 (1591 CE). Ningthem's great palace was on fire. The new settlers in Kyang were herded together. Leima Chosoi was captured. The spinning of fine thread commenced at that time. The canal Kokchaikhong was dug. They were victorious over Tonsen. Captured Naroipa in battle. Yipemma Tosennu was born.

Sakabda 1514 (1592 CE)

The year of Tengkon Chaipa Tona, Sakabda 1514 (1592 CE). Somsok was devastated. Took as a trophy elephant Tengkon Chaipa. Captured Lasei in battle. Khurai Leima Kharoingampi dedicated a tree. Ningthem Khakempa moved into his house.[1] An earthen plinth was prepared at Mangsamkei for building a granary. The granary was also built right away. While building the granary some contributed mithun, cattle, and others elected to contribute buffalo meat. These beasts were all killed and the meat produced was compared. Mithun yielded the most meat. They also caught many wild beasts at Yaorou. They attacked Kapo Yuthak. Thingpaicham Panga died.

1 *Yim tai: Yim/Yum* house, *Tai* from *Taba* to settle or to establish, moved into his own palace away from the family house.

Sakabda 1515 (1593 CE)

The year of Toncham Chura, Sakabda 1515 (1593 CE). Yipemma Sarempi died. Kongyampa the Naikhurakpa also died as he committed crimes against Yipemma Changpompi. Meetingu Khakempa had his ears pierced. He also participated in the boat race and also presided over public celebration. Aangoupampa Lanhang Ngampa died. Khangku, Kangwoi and many more people were captured in battle in Ningngen.

Sakabda 1516 (1594 CE)

The year of Khoiri Ngaren, Sakabda 1516 (1594 CE). Meetei Reima Changpompi ascended the throne.[1] They attacked Aanan Aareipung and Meetingu Mungyampa gave lessons on warfare to his royal son Yipungo Khakempa. Captured Sinthoipa in battle. Looted boats at Makhao. The Haos chased them up all the way to Makhao, hitting at the stern of the boats as they chased. The royal sword, shield and brass pots were lost. Sampam Aapang and others fought in combat with swords against the Tangkhuns of Mongthoupham. Captured Marourem in battle. Ten royal ladies died. Yipemma Changpompi took to the oars.[2] They attacked the main village in Aanan. Khongchumpa, Lanchungpa and Taloipa died in battle.

1 *Phampan tongye: Phampan* throne, *tongye* past tense of *tongba* to ascend. This is the first mention of the queen's ascending the throne. The opposite is *theithapa*, to be demoted from the throne. As the Meetei kings had more than one wife at the same time, each of the wives had the opportunity to ascend the throne, according to the wish of the king. All the wives had the same status.

2 *Nouroi thangye:* plural of *nou* oars, *thangye* past tense of *thangba* to lift or move. The princess took to the oars,' meaning she rowed the boat.

Sakabda 1517 (1595 CE)

The year of Yiroipam Thangnga, Sakabda 1517 (1595 CE). Meetei Reima Changpompi dedicated a tree. Aangoupampa Lanhang Chaipa ascended the throne (of Aangom). They attacked Monsang. Captured Lantong in battle. Chairem Yaopa was killed.

Sakabda 1518 (1596 CE)

The year of Mangsatapam Koireng, Sakabda 1518 (1596 CE). Meetei Reima Changpompi dedicated a field. Many boats were made in the area of the Tangkhun. Many people died. Boats which could be used to capture people (in battle) were also made. Those who stole gold at Lanhem were killed.

Sakabda 1519 (1597 CE)

The year of Haokhom Mikra, Sakabda 1519 (1597 CE).[1] The people of Chothe made a racing barge named Meirongpa Naran Phapa.[2] Ponglen Khonpi was born. While making the plinth to build a granary at Chaching, Khumukcham Mayampa died. While Yaisakun was making arrangements for the ridge beam (which runs at the top of the gabled roof)

for his institute building, the Kapo who was the keeper of the granary[3] in Mangsamkei ran away. He was pursued and there was killing. The elephant Marampa also arrived. Meetingu Mungyampa died after reigning thirty-five years on the throne. He was fifty-two years of age.

1 Sak. 1519 overwritten on 1518. The scribal overwriting on the Sak. year which started in Sak. 1406 ends here.

2 *Hi Meerongpa naran phapa:* this could refer to a racing barge which has the carving of a human face at the prow (*mee rongpa, Mee* person, *rongpa* for *lonpa* to embroider or to carve (in this context), *naran* a short form of *narum* meaning behind the ears, indicating the area where the carvings join the boat: from *phapa* to catch, to attach). Such racing barges with tall carvings at the prow resembling human faces were used in Manipur by the kings. They are still used in the Hiyangkei Hi Tongba (boat race) festival.

3 *Keisangpa:* the keeper of the granary.

MEETINGU KHAKEMPA, SAKABDA 1519–1574 (1597–1652 CE)

Sakabda 1519 (1597 CE)

[The year of Haokhom Mikra, Sakabda 1519 (1597 CE)]. Meetingu Khakempa[1] ascended the throne when he was twenty-four years old. They raided Tonngou to mark his ascension on the throne.[2] Lokpa and many other people were captured in the raid.

1 According to *Ningthourol Lampuba*, Khakempa's name was Sna Hihonhan Poirei Ningthouhan before he was given the name Khaki Ngampa (conqueror of Khaki) shortened to Khakempa, after his defeat of Khaki, usually understood as China.

2 *Phampanlan: phampan* throne, *lan* battle or a raid. In order to mark the king's coming on the throne a raid or a battle was fought in which at least a captive of some kind was to be taken. First time the term has been used.

Sakabda 1520 (1598 CE)

The year of Thoutapam Mitsang, Sakabda 1520 (1598 CE). They inspected the land of Satang. While they were attacking Koireng and Makui, Paonam Khoiri died. Yaisakun got Khangla to lead him to Loiching hills to find a man of Kapo who fled the village. He was captured and was killed.

Sakabda 1521 (1599 CE)

The year of Konkhom Lakhai, Sakabda 1521 (1599 CE). There was an affray between Nungsang and Khongnang which resulted in death. It was named battle of stones.[1] Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Khurai moved to his own house. He also had his ears pieced. Wongngai and Aomkapa died.

1 *Nungki lanmingne:* battle of stones, where stones were used in attacking each other either by throwing or rolling down huge stones, if the fighting took place in the hilly area.

Sakabda 1522 (1600 CE)

The year of Thaoteicham Nuyampa, Sakabda 1522 (1600 CE). Meetingu Khagempa participated in a boat race. He also went on a tour.[1] He combined his inspection of a granary with a raid.[2] Meetei Reima Taipompi was born.[3] The Mayangs built the main earthen barricade. Yipungo Serem Ngampa went out to witness ceremonies.

1 *Lam khumme.* Sentence is cryptic. Phrase means either to avenge or to tour to inspect. Derived from *lam* place, *khumme* probably a scribal error for *Kumme* past tense of *kumba,* to go to (where k and kh had been used interchangeably).

2 *Keika lanka punye.* Meaning not clear. *kei* granary, *lan* battle, raid, *punye* past tense of *punpa* to combine. Alternative meaning: He made the people of Kei and Lan live together.

3 Meetei Reima Taipompi: refers to Taipompi who became the queen of the Meeteis in Sak. 1542 at the age of twenty years.

Sakabda 1523 (1601 CE)

The year of Loitongpam Taopung Aa, Sakabda 1523 (1601 CE). While attacking Yitok Hakwanthem Pangan died. Samloipa dedicated a tree. The Mayangs built the main earthen barricade.[1] While they were building a granary at Lamphel Mapal, the building broke and injured Meetingu Khakempa in his waist and Ngaroi Nongthin was killed. Kapo Reima Sna Hekpi left for Kapo. They herded together the people from the villages of Thingnong, Yingthi and Tanung. Layingthou Khagempa also drank a toast of *yu* and others joined him.[2] The people of Khoichu and Langmei fled. Ten people who were captured in battle were made to earth up (to repair) an area in Khoichu. They also had (a friendly) contest with the Lupa Luhup. Then they asked the Luhup Uppa to accompany them.[3] While making a racing barge in the area of the Tangkhuns, Laitoncham Chingsong died.

1 *Mayang panlen sai.* The place still bears the name Mayang Panlen.

2 *Yu Thakneiye:* implies along with others.

3 *Luhup Uppasu houneiye: Luhup Uppa* same as *Lupa Luhup, houneiye* from verb *houpa/houba* to ask to accompany or to begin, *hounaba* to ask to accompany, used mostly between close friends. The Lupa Luhup were asked to accompany and help them in making boats.

Sakabda 1524 (1602 CE)

The year of Loitongpam Mayang,[1] **Sakabda 1524 (1602 CE).** They were victorious over Kyang. Chosengkham, Thamung and Chawai and others, totalling 177 people, were captured in battle. They were victorious over Mawao also. Takhen Mung was captured in battle. They also captured sculptors from Kyang. Yipungo Kyampa was born. Elephant Kyampa also arrived. While attacking Yito Yitok of the Tangkhuns, Phanlei from Takhen, Sera the son of Kapa and Samloipam Pangara's son, these four people died.[2] Elephants including a female elephant arrived from Kapo.

1 Loitongpam Mayang: *Mayang,* a settler from Cachar or Shylhet who had been given a Meetei surname.

2 Discrepancy of one person, unless Pangara and his son is taken as the alternative reading in the absence of punctuation and the genitive form.

Sakabda 1525 (1603 CE)

The year of Namram Kapo,[1] **Sakabda 1525 (1603 CE).** They were victorious over Langlong in Takhen and captured in battle Aarai Champra and Lintengpa. A female elephant with a calf also arrived. Yipungo Sanongpa had his ears pierced. Mayang Leima Tonsennu also left for Mayang. Aayampa the elephant also arrived. Thingpaijam Mangsa, Mutum Aayampa and many villagers from Yenkhoipam village died.

1 Namram Kapo: a settler from Kapo, who had been given a Meetei surname.

Sakabda 1526 (1604 CE)

The year of Hakwanthem Khunchan, Sakabda 1526 (1604 CE). Khunchaopa the *Lakpa* of Khwai and Kharoingampa were killed for crimes they had committed. The Mayangs came and dug a trench by the brick building. Meetingu Khakempa and Yakharekpa made a covenant[1] at *Men*.[2] The Mayangs scattered Yipungo Sanongpa.[3] When the Tangkhun Haos came to attack the Mayangs they were persuaded not to fight and thus all of them were prevented from fighting,[4] on account of the solemn covenant which had already been made.

1 *Sari sonnaiye:* from *Sari sonnaba* to make a solemn covenant between two parties. These covenants are binding for generations even after the death of those who actually took part in making the covenant. Mention is also made as to what will happen if one party should not keep the covenant. First time this phrase is used.

2 *Men:* the sacred place in Kangla where the Meetei kings have their coronation. It is joined to the tunnel of the mythical Pakhangpa, the ancestral python.

3 *Kheikhiye:* past tense of *kheiba*, to winnow, in this context the meaning is obscure except that it describes a scene where the object was scattered like the winnowing of grains in a winnowing basket. The Mayangs scattered Yipungo Sanongpa and his party and took them captive.

4 Prevented from fighting. It implies that the party with whom Khakempa made the oath was from the Mayang area or had dealings with them, and perhaps Khakempa also tried to bring about peaceful coexistence with the neighbouring countries.

Sakabda 1527 (1605 CE)

The year of Keisam Mayang,[1] **Sakabda** 1527 **(1605 CE).** They attacked Maring Khutei. Hingngampam Naining died in battle. They attacked Nungjai. Keisam Pansa and Saikhupam Khoiya died in battle. The riding in palanquins by Meetingu Khakempa dates from this period. All those who served him, the noble and the strong, to them all, gifts of gold and silver armlets were presented. They were victorious over Maram. All the graves[2] from the midst of the housing areas were made to be moved outside the (city) wall. The *Khunlakpa* of Tahen village died.

1 Keisam Mayang: Mayang who had been given a Meetei surname.

2 *Mang:* graves, this shows burial was normal at this period. The removal of graves may indicate secondary burial. Unclear if this was a religious act or because of the pressure on land for housing.

Sakabda 1528 (1606 CE)

The year of Heirangkhongcham Monsang, Sakabda 1528 (1606 CE). Yipungo Sanongpa and others marched towards the region of Yangkoi when it was reported that the Mayangs were approaching[1] (to attack the land). Layingthou Khakempa was victorious over the Mayangs.[2] They captured thirty elephants, 1,000 guns, and a colony of 1,000 Pangans,[3] including swordsmiths, brass smiths and other skilled men, makers of trumpets and long drums, those who could make brackets, washermen,[4] horse grooms, and grooms for elephants, all these were captured. All those Pangans who were captured alive were allowed to establish an institute. Altogether 1,000 people were captured in battle. Those who were captured by Meetingu Khakempa included Phanlei Tao, Maika Tao, Sanaputhi,[5] Tekka Cha the *Keirungpa*[6] and six renowned men from Ponchengkha were captured. The playing of Polo[7] also started at this period. Decorating with flowers over the shoulder and the wearing of fashionable male headdress also started from this period.

1 This sentence can be read in more than one way. Literal reading: *Sanongpana chingtuna:* Sanongpa along with others or Sanongpa as the leader (of a party). *Chingtuna* from *chingba* along with or as led by, *tuna* on account of, as was the case.

The sentence could then be read: (a) Sanongpa led a party when they heard (*haituna:* from *haiba* to say, *haituna,* as it was said) that the Mayangs were approaching to attack. In this reading Sanongpa is the subject of the sentence. He was on the king's side and facing the enemy. (b) When it was reported that the Mayangs led by Yipungo Sanongpa had marched up to the area of Yangkoi (to attack the land), (the people) left (to face the enemy). In this reading Sanongpa is not the subject of the sentence. The subject is the people who are implied in the verb (*chatle* went, or marched), referring those who marched to face the enemy. But because of two vertical lines (in the text) a pause which is set after *Sanongpana chingtuna* in the *P. Ms,* Sanongpa is clearly indicated as the subject of the sentence. This is strengthened by the absence of any pause before the verb *chatle* (went), indicating that it belongs to the same subject Sanongpa. This is in keeping with the format used in the *Kumpapa,* the style used in writing as well as the tradition of mentioning only the leader's name of the army or a group. This format is used throughout the *Kumpapa* so far. There is no case for accepting the second reading (b) from the internal evidence. There is also the question of whether Sanongpa remained as a prisoner of the Mayangs till this period (since his last encounter with the Mayangs) or whether the king tried to get him released. If the king did not make an attempt to fight back the Mayangs, then the

second reading is probable. Internal evidence is silent as to any hint of a probable attempt on the throne.

Variant readings

(i) 'in Sakabda 1527, Sanongpa came to invade Manipur with a large number of troops from Cachar (Mayang)' *(Ch.K. English Ms B.L).*

(ii) 'Sakabda 1527, Yipungo Sanongpa along with the Mayangs marched towards Yangkoi' *(Deva Ms).*

(iii) 'Sak. 1528. Yipungo Sanongpa along with others, (and) the Mayangs marched towards the area of Yangoi (to attack). Lainingythou Khagempa was victorious over the Mayangs. Sanongpa was also detained' *(Din. Ms).*

If the second reading is correct, then it makes Sanongpa a traitor marching against his own elder brother, the king. Though rivalry and attempts to overthrow one brother by another in the Manipur royal family became a very common saga in the later period, there is no internal evidence to support this view at this period.

The *Deva Ms, Din. Ms* and *Ch.K. English Ms B.L* 'Sanongpa marched with the Mayangs' (against the land).

The *Din. Ms* inserts another sentence in order to strengthen the second reading. The inserted sentence reads 'Sanongpa also was held back *(khamhouye)', meaning* that after the Mayangs were defeated Sanongpa was not allowed to go back with the Mayang retreating army.

The *LI. & NK Ch.K* (i) has taken the first reading (a) *P. Ms* but has inserted the additional sentence found in the *Din. Ms,* which leaves the passage self-contradictory.

According to both the *Deva Ms.* and the *Ch.K. English Ms B.L.* the event took place a year earlier, in Sak. 1527, than in the *P. Ms*.

2 Even when there is no reference to the king marching in person to face the Mayangs, the victory won was attributed to the king as the head of the state. This sentence as well as the previous sentence is very enigmatic.

3 *Pangan:* Bengal is sometimes referred as Bangal. Pangan could be a corruption of Bangal. The b sound came in later, and n and 1 were used interchangeably. Referred to men from Bengal, likely East Bengal, present-day Bangla Desh. Now Pangan stands for Manipuri Muslims.

4 *dobi:* for *dhobi*, a Bengali term for washerman.

5 *Sanaputhi:* for Senapati, Indian term for military commander-in-chief. First time this term is used.

6 *Keirungpa:* post name. Official in charge of and who was responsible for opening state granaries.

7 *Sakon Kangchei:* Polo. The entry states that the playing of polo began at this time. This reference here could mean as an organised game sanctioned by the king with particular rules, and not the actual game itself. The very name of the game Kangchei was taken after the legendary king Kang, who reigned long before Khakempa. The pre-historical origin of this game is in line with the Meetei religious beliefs where the *lai* for this game is Khori Phaba, and also its connection with Marjing at the Lai Haraoba festival.

Sakabda 1529 (1607 CE)

The year of Thingkurum Pangan,[1] **Sakabda 1529 (1607 CE).** Chakpa Pungpun fled. The Aangoms were devastated. Aangoupampa Mungyang Chaipa was deported to Suknu.[2] Attacked Samsok. Khumukcham Kapo died in battle. Mongpijam Maphonga, Koireng Chinthapa, Chakpa Hoching and Wangkheirakpam Keisa, all these four died in battle. With the help of Mongkasa, they captured sixty people in battle.

1 Thingkurum Pangan: a Muslim with Meetei surname.

2 *Suknuta thai:* sent to Suknu. This could be either a deportation or a death sentence where the person is punished by drowning. First time the phrase has been used.

Sakabda 1530 (1608 CE)

The year of Thongpam Mangsa, Sakabda 1530 (1608 CE). They herded together the Purums. Captured Sinpu and Thompa. They attacked Mayangkhang. Aaheipa Tonpa and Kapo Lapeng died in battle. They also started to address Meetingu Khakempa as Laiyingthou[1] at this time. They also introduced the custom of kneeling down before him at this time. To all those who knelt before the king, gifts were given. The construction of tall royal palaces also dates from this period. They herded together all the inhabitants of Tarung. They inaugurated the great palace building.

1 *Laiyingthou:* sovereign king. Slight contradiction as this term had already been used earlier in reference to Meetei kings (Sak. 186, when it was first used). The earlier use of Laiyingthou may be later editorial additions.

Sakabda 1531 (1609 CE)

The year of Sarangthem Satok, Sakabda 1531 (1609 CE). Yipemma Tangkhompi was born. They also inaugurated the royal palace.[1] Aakoicham maiden Yangnu, the Takhen Leima, left for Takhen. They were victorious over Thangkan Thangkapung. Captured Khawonpu in battle. Charai, Kapong, Soramang and Moripa, these four also were captured in battle.

1 Sna Sangkai: Royal palace, may refer to the actual building which was used as the king's residence.

Sakabda 1532 (1610 CE)

The year of Khoipung Lokpam Mayang, Sakabda 1532 (1610 CE). Kapo Reima Snapubi left for Kapo. Yipungo Kapompa, the *Lakpa* of Khurai, went out to witness ceremonies. Aaton, the *Nongthonpa*, dedicated a tree. The sovereign king got the ladies to dress up and decorate themselves with pheasant feathers at the archery contest, and they drank a toast of *yu*. The contest was with Kapo Mong. Drank a toast of *yu* with Munurakpa Mangtra, who had a silver headdress. The people of the nine villages of Maring, Saibon, Seinen, Kato, Yongkhun, Kasunglam, Masinarum, Makan and Chingsao called on each other and jointly were on their way to meet the king of the west.[1] Khakempa dissuaded them from going and they did not (proceed).[2] Those who were building up the Thenka river bank lost their lives. Smoking with pipes also began at this period.

1 King of the west: could refer to Cachar and Sylhet.

2 *Khamlouye:* from *khamba* to stop, to dissuade.

Sakabda 1533 (1611 CE)

The year of Loitongpam Chengpa, Sakabda 1533 (1611 CE). They were victorious over the Maring Tangkam. There was a flood. Paddy in that year was scarce. Langmaithem Mupa, Aamom Kapo and Naiphrakpa Liklai, these three died. Meetingu Khakempa visited Suknu and returned on the same day.

Sakabda 1534 (1612 CE)

The year of Ningthoucham Khoiri, Sakabda 1534 (1612 CE). Meetingu Khakempa dedicated a tree. Aangoupampa Mungyang Chaipa also died.

Sakabda 1535 (1613 CE)

The year of Thoutapa Khaki,[1] **Sakabda 1535 (1613 CE).** They were victorious over Munu. Captured Lachet in battle. Khakempa drank a toast of *yu* with the *maipa*. Both decorated themselves with *leikham*.[2] (The people) dug the Kyang Khong canal. Elephant Thoupu had a male calf.

1 Thoutapa Khaki: a man from Khaki with a Meetei surname. Khaki here may refer to the Shan states on the north-eastern border of Manipur.

2 *Leikham:* a small indigenous plant; when burnt it is believed to purify the air and also wards off evil spirits. Drinking of *yu* and the wearing of *leikham* with the *maipa* may have some religious significance.

Sakabda 1536 (1614 CE)

The year of Sarem Lukok, Sakabda 1536 (1614 CE). Yipemma Kapompi was born. They were victorious over Kyang. Captured Sumchai Leima the queen in battle. They were victorious over Tai Pong. Captured Singmi Langkhampa in battle. The sovereign king from the land of Kyang riding a white horse fought with the sword at Samsok. Many

people were captured in battle. Yipungo Khomma, the *Pukhranpa*[1], and Naiphrakpa Yura lost their lives. They herded together the people of Nakachon in Takhen. The building of a brick wall around the royal palace gate began at this period. Meetingu Khakempa dedicated ten markets. The royal market[2] was named after the valiant in battle. The white horse was buried[3] and Chokong, the king of Tai Pong, stood upon it and mixed yu for dedication.[4] The market in the south was named after the valiant in battle. Panpa Keimu was buried. Sayi the king of Magan stood upon it and mixed *yu* for dedication. The market in Phaibang was named after a valiant man in battle, Lotkham (who fought in the battle) of Khari. The Moirang market was named after the hundreds of valiant warriors.[5] The Khuman market was named after the valiant in battle, Lotkham of Khari.[6] Phaibang market was for garments and edibles. Chairen market was for selling paddy which had been collected compulsorily (by order) and (the market was) held once a week. Kontong market was to sell baskets from Takhen. Antro[7] market was a place for a monthly visit by the people of Mawao.

1 *Pukhranpa.* The post of *Pukhranpa* is occupied by a prince.

2 *Sna keithen:* royal market.

3 *Khada tha:* lit. to be put under, used to mean to be buried with. This phrase along with *Thakka thonye* is a play on words. In the Meetei tradition the king's horse *(Sagol Yaisa)* was given an important place as it was chosen for its specific qualities and was used by the king alone, both in time of peace and on the battlefield. When such a horse died it was respected and honoured.

4 *Aahong yu neinaiye: Aahong* is a short form of *hongba/hongpa* to dedicate. This *yu* was mixed ritually for the dedication of the market that the market might be plentiful. Another meaning of the verb *hongba* is to be plentiful.

5 *Sayam:* warriors, since *sa lan* means battle, *sa yam,* in this context, refers to the many warriors who died and hence they were remembered in the dedication of the markets.

6 Lotkham of Khari. This is repeated. May be a scribal dittography.

7 *Antr:* scribal error for *Antro/Andro*.

Sakabda 1537 (1615 CE)

The year of Haopam Marampa, Sakabda 1537 (1615 CE). Yipungo Taipompa was born. Attacked Manggan Khutsam in Gwai. Aasum Kapui brought the message that the Mayangs were approaching (to attack). Aasum Kapui was killed as he was found to be spreading false information. Yipungo Mungyampa was born. The smoking of tobacco with a smoking pot using live charcoal[1] in an earthen container[2] was introduced. They also made the chief racing barge. Meetingu Khakempa captured many paddy fields in Somsok. Many people were also captured in battle. They also began to wear (feathers of) Langmei, in a silver clasp from that time.[3]

1–2 *Meikhu hitakphu/manggan phu: meikhu hidakphu* pot for pot smoking, *manggan phu* earthen container for the live charcoal for pot smoking: Tobacco paste is put in the earthen container and burning charcoal is placed on it. This container is placed firmly on a narrow hollow bamboo reed or wooden pipe which is attached to the top of the pot. The pot is made from a coconut shell in which two holes are made, one on the top for the reed or wooden pipe, the other in the side, from which the smoker inhales the smoke through his mouth. The pot must always be partly full of water. As the habit became widespread, decorations on the pot and the tobacco paste container became more stylistic. First time *meikhu hitakphu and manganphu* are used.

3 *Langmei* or *Langmeiton:* a rare bird in Manipur. The wearing of feathers was common. The introduction of silver clasps was an innovation.

Sakabda 1538 (1616 CE)

The year of Moirangthem Sanong, Sakabda 1538 (1616 CE). Meetingu Khakempa ordered (them) to produce (more) Meetei books and reading and writing began to be taught on a wider scale.[1] A royal palace with a five-tiered roof was built.[2] Also built Thangwaipan barricade. One of the *Phamtou* courtiers passed a sentence of punishment[3] and Thangjam Aapang and Hijam Monsang, both died.

1 *Meetei Lairik:* refers to books written in Meetei script. Since books were all hand-written, perhaps reading and writing were confined to the scribes and a select few only. Now with the availability of more books more people may have been given the opportunity to learn reading and writing.

2 *Mathon manga: mathon* one above the other, *manga* five. A building with a five-tiered roof, each roof smaller than the one below. Similar to the Chinese pattern.

3 *Phamtouna wakongtuna:* from *wakongpa* sentence of punishment, *tuna* (postposition) on account of. First time the transfer of power to the courtiers is mentioned, even of capital punishment. First time the term *wakongpa* is used.

Sakabda 1539 (1617 CE)

The year of Chanampam Kharoi, Sakabda 1539 (1617 CE). A shrine[1] for the Lai was built in Wangkon. In the month of **Kalen** (April/May),[2] Meetei Reima Taipompi was promoted to the position of *Leima Khubi*.[3] Chirom Lairenmei and Aakhom Mayon both died. They inspected the area of Sikong. Kapo Nungkoitongpa maiden was given in marriage to the king of Thangching.[4] They opened up the road to Makak. Lairikyengpa Aaton and others left for Makak. They completed (the road) from Wangthonpi to Hoitraopi.

1 *Phura Laiyum: Phura* the *lai's* house. The term *phura* is also used by the Burmese for shrine. Phrase used for the first time.

2 A change in the style of recording. This is the beginning of stating the months when the events took place.

3 *Leima Khubi ta kai: Leima Khubi:* the Meetei king's fourth and fifth wives were titled as *Leima Khubi* elder and *Leima Khubi* junior. As any of the wives could be promoted to the throne or demoted from it, each of them is referred as *Leima*, or queen. Taipompi, whose birth was recorded at the beginning of this king's reign, was taken by the king, who was over forty years, as one of his wives and was promoted to the position of *Leima Khubi*.

4 Thangching: the *lai* of Moirang. *Thangching* here refers to the principality of Moirang.

Sakabda 1540 (1618 CE)

The year of Santham Mayang, Sakabda 1540 (1618 CE). Yipungo Mayampa was born. He died in the month of Yingen (June/July) in the same year he was born. (They) performed an appeasement rite to the sovereign god Marching. (They) sacrificed wild boars, dogs, ducks, fowls, pigeons and many other living creatures. They performed appeasement rites at every watering place.

Sakabda 1541 (1619 CE)

The year of Thiyam Thonga, Sakabda 1541 (1619 CE). Yipungo Sanongpa the *Lakpa* of Yaisakul died.[1] Purums were herded together. Among those captured in battle were Wangsonpa, Leiripa, Linglipa, Sinpu and Thengpa. After eating the meat in a feast which was given by the Aahanlup *(Pana)*, Laikangpam Khoiya, Aapoi Macha Chaipa, Yenkhoipam Chaipa and Ningthoucham Naining died. Makak arrived. Also elephant Mukta arrived. Meetei Reima Changpompi[2] died.

1 Yipungo Sanongpa the *Lakpa* of Yaisakul. If Sanongpa had been a traitor in Sakabda 1528, it is doubtful if he would be holding an important position as the *Lakpa* of Yaisakul.

2 Meetei Reima Changpompi: Khakempa's mother.

Sakabda 1542 (1620 CE)

The year of Yenkhoipam Sara, Sakabda 1542 (1620 CE). They established a granary for storing paddy at Yiharai. Yipemma Mungkhong Wompi was demoted.[1] Meetei Reima Taipompi ascended the throne. They defeated Narum. Captured Sawongpa in battle. Kapo Lasoi died. Meetei Reima Tompokpi was born.

1 *Theitheiye:* past tense of *theithapa* to be demoted from the throne.

Sakabda 1543 (1621 CE)

The year of Khumukcham Langmei, Sakabda 1543 (1621 CE). Yipungohan Khongchompa was born. Yipungo Kapompa the *Lakpa* of Khwai went out on a tour. They built a royal palace with nine rooms. Yipungo Kyampa had his ears pierced. The playing of hockey[1] by the Meeteis also began at this period. They were victorious over Tonpung. Captured Saman in battle. There was a very strong wind and one *uleisang*[2] orchid which was in the grove of Muwa Ningthou (divinity) was blown off. It grew upright by itself in the night and the *Lai* had caused it Khoiri Chinkharek was drowned in the waves in Yikop.

1 *kangjei:* since horses are not mentioned, this refers to hockey. As with polo earlier, this might have been to introduce some rules and regulations into the game.

2 *Uleisang:* vine of the orchid family with evergreen long hanging foliage, grown on trees. Believed to be the favourite offering for Lai Khori Phaba.

Sakabda 1544 (1622 CE)

The year of Loitongpa Kyang, Sakabda 1544 (1622 CE). Meetingu Khunchaopa was born. They were victorious over Leiyan. Captured Thanglen in battle. They were victorious over Nungkhan also. Captured Machep in battle. They feasted on the lotus seeds at Hyangthang. They also dug the canal for boats at Wakching. People also began to travel from place to place, from that time. The wearing of decorations on the ears[1] by the sovereign king also began from this period.

1 *Na thonpasung: na* ear, *thonpa* to decorate, to wear, *sung* suffix meaning also. Decorating the ears. Since the wearing of earrings had already been in practice among men, this must indicate a change in the style of earrings, or perhaps the wearing of flowers other than earrings to be used only by the king. First time the term is used.

Sakabda 1545 (1623 CE)

The year of Wangkheirakpam Khaki,[1] **Sakabda 1545 (1623 CE).** Yipemma Snakhonpi was born. They also began to sieve gold at that time. Meetei Reima Taipompi dedicated a tree. They were victorious over Tangkhun Heinoupok. Khoiyampa was captured in battle.

1 Wangkheirakpam Khaki: a man from one of the Shan states with a Meetei surname.

Sakabda 1546 (1624 CE)

The year of Yangngampam Aakeng, Sakabda 1546 (1624 CE). Meetei Reima Taipompi dedicated a paddy field. She also participated in a boat race. Huitrompa Aarok was killed while they were trying to dam up Para Thinglen. They were victorious over Maring, Khutei and Kangoi. Yenthakpa Tonpa who was a volunteer militia,[1] was killed in battle. Laisangpa was killed while they raided Yoto.

1 *Aachoipa:* volunteer militia. In this context, outer flank of the battle formation.

Sakabda 1547 (1625 CE)

The year of Meisupam Lamming, Sakabda 1547 (1625 CE). Yipungo Khongphen Thoupa was born. They were victorious over Maring Yaotou and Machi. They captured the villages of Momting, Lamnem, Laipai, Tonpung and Kharam, these five villages were herded together.[1] Aaton the *Pheita Hanchapa*[2] dedicated a tree. They made a racing barge with the prow carved in the shape of a human face.

1 *Khomme:* herded together. It is unclear whether this herding together of captives was simply taking them as prisoners to settle them elsewhere. Phrase 'herded together' has been used increasingly in place of 'captured'.

2 Aaton the *Pheita Hanchapa*. *Pheita* means eunuch. Probably Aaton himself was not a eunuch but this became the designation of a post at court, that of being in charge of the Institute of Eunuchs. The post of *Pheita Hanchapa* is higher than the office of the *Hanchapa*. First time the term *pheita* is used.

Sakabda 1548 (1626 CE)

The year of Heisnam Chengpa, Sakabda 1548 (1626 CE). Yipungo Nungthin Chaipa was born. Aangoupampa Lamtapa (Aangom king) ascended the throne. They were victorious over Maring Tangkang, Machi and Yaoto. They dragged down a large flat wooden seat from Tangkang.

Sakabda 1549 (1627 CE)

The year of Chongtham Tenpa, Sakabda 1549 (1627 CE). They herded together (the people from) the five villages of Maring, Khunpi, Karongthen, Lamlong and Kangwui, and established Ngaprum village (by settling them together). They dug up the soil (for the plinth) and built a granary at Wangu. There was thundering at *lai* Kouparen.[1] The *lai's* house, was built.

1 *Lai Kouparena nongmei kapye:* lit. Lai Kouparen fired a gun. Probably refers to thundering. It is believed that Lai Kouparen has his abode in the Kouparu (Koubru) mountain. Koubru is

the highest mountain in the north and according to legend is believed to be the area where the earliest settlement took place in Manipur.

Sakabda 1550 (1628 CE)

The year of Ngangom Kapom, Sakabda 1550 (1628 CE). They pulled down the palace with the nine-tiered roof.[1] In its place they built the main palace. Haochong (Institute) was established.[2] They also began to make barrel guns at that time. Jogi also arrived.[3] A maiden from the Chakpa area was arranged to be married to the Jogi. There was a flood. When they raided Samsok of Kapo, Khuraiphatia was killed. They captured cattle and buffaloes. They also took away gold and silver masks (death masks), separating them[4] from the skulls.

1 9 *Thonpa:* nine-tiered roof, here it refers to a building with a nine-tiered roof. But in Sak. 1543 a palace with nine rooms was built (*sangkai* 9 *panpa*). May be a scribal error.

2 *Haochong* was established. Communal dancing was established: *Haochong* is a conflation of two words, Hao, the common people, *chong* from *chongba* to jump or dance vigorously. May be connected with the traditional festival of *Mera Haochong* (Sak. 1580) held in the month of Mera (September/October). On this occasion all the people both from the hills and the plain celebrate by dancing in a joyous mood for the well-being of the land during the past year in the presence of the king. Even after the British occupation of Manipur in 1891 CE *Mera Haochong* continued. This may also be related to the *Mera San Tuba* festival, where dancing and feasting with the killing of cattle took place. Both are celebrated in the same month. *Mera San Tuba* disappeared with the enforcement of Hinduism and the meaning of *Haochong* was reinterpreted by later Hinduisers.

3 Jogi also arrived. This jogi (i.e. yogi) was given a wife, but true Jogis do not marry. Either he was not a Jogi in the strict sense or he was a *Chuki* whose profession was spinning and weaving.

4 *mathana hamye:* a cryptic expression. *mathana* by itself, without anything else, *hamye* past tense of *hamba* to empty or to wash. The masks were separated from the skulls. Refers to the covering of the skulls with masks of precious metal in the secondary burial. The Meeteis had a similar custom.

Sakabda 1551 (1629 CE)

The year of Khram Khomma, Sakabda 1551 (1629 CE). They built Utra,[1] the royal palace. The *Lai's* house was dedicated. The area of Leicheng Yanglam was inspected. They completed (the construction of) each of the forked roads.

1 *Utra:* the name given to the royal palace, very likely derived from the number of the main posts used, *u* tree for wooden posts, *tra* short form of *tara,* meaning ten. Ten main wooden posts indicate a large building in the context of house building in that period. First time this term is used in reference to the royal building.

Wutra. U and its compound are usually preceded by an initial *w* for euphony.

Sakabda 1552 (1630 CE)

The year of Nongpokpam Ngangpa, Sakabda 1552 (1630 CE). Para river was dredged. Mayang Leima Hakhenthem maiden, Sna Ponpen Chenbi left (for Mayang). Elephant

Khamlo was born. Sovereign king Khagempa along with the noblemen competed in dressing up with *Ningkham* shirt[1] and other decorations, and made a toast of *yu* to celebrate the victory over Maring. To mark the end of the battle, those who went into battle pulled the wooden throne[2] in a procession on the southern side *(Santhong)* of Kangla. Kangla caught fire. The shrine was damaged. The old river was dammed up.

1 *Ningkham phurit:* male attire consisting of a shirt worn along with a richly embroidered waist cloth of triangular shape with a tassel at one corner which falls at the back and the other two corners being tied at the front.

2 *Khong chingye. Khong* wooden throne, symbolising the king, *chingye* past tense of *chingpa/chingba* to pull. The wooden throne was pulled like the *Nung* (stone) or *Phanchao* (wooden seat) *chingpa* festivals. In this case it was to mark the end of battle with the Marings and celebrate the victory. First time the phrase is used.

Sakabda 1553 (1631 CE)

The year of Laisrapa Maitek, Sakabda 1553 (1631 CE). Sovereign king Khaki Ngampa[1] on the fifth of the month of **Lamta** (February/March), Wednesday, began to build Kangla. It was dedicated right away. Koubaru and all the other *lais* were invoked[2] and blessings were sought under a canopy at Kuchu; with the offerings of 100 buffaloes, 100 goats, 100 sheep, 100 cattle, 100 swans, 100 pigs, 100 chickens, 100 pigeons, 100 dogs, along with fruit by the hundred and ginger of all varieties by the hundred, which could not be counted or described. He prayed that long life might be granted to him. They also pulled the wooden throne of the *lai* in a procession.[3] There was fighting amongst the Luwangba of the Tangkhuns which resulted in deaths. *Phamthou* raided[4] Sachun and defeated Sachun and captured Lemleinu in battle. They dredged the course of the river and dug a canal at Marongkhong. Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Khwai went to witness public ceremonies in the land of Khaki.

1 Note the change in the style of recording. The king is referred as both Laiyingthou (sovereign king) and *Khaki Ngampa,* conqueror of Khaki, which refers to Shan states or southern China. The name Khakempa is a short form of Khaki Ngampa.

Ningthourol Lambuba, p. 280, reads as follows: ‘Leiren Meidingu in the chief village of Khaki captured sixty *chungs* (canopies), ten cattle; he danced the spear dance with all his decorations where he captured Choupha Hongde the brave in battle and caused the rest to flee. On that day he was named Senbi Khakempa Choupha Hodeng Phaba O.’

2 *Thouniye:* conflation of *thou* short form of *thou touba* and *niye* past tense of *niba* to beg, to beseech. *Thou touba* to invoke, where living objects are offered and blessings are sought. Koubaru (for Kouparu) and all the *lais* were invoked under a canopy in Kuchu. Kuchu is in Kangla. Worshipping the *lais* under a canopy very likely refers to Lai Haraoba. In the Lai Haraoba festival ancestral blessing is sought.

3 *Laipu Khong chingnaiye: Laipu,* the representation of the Divinity, not an image, which was not used at that period. In this case the throne of the *lai* was pulled, invoking the *lai’s* favour with the acknowledgement of the *Lai’s* sovereignty. The pulling of the throne of the *lai* is still done in the Moirang Lai Haraoba festival.

4 *Phamthou* raided. In most cases of raids, attack, etc., only the leader of the party is mentioned.

Note
The increasing use of the letter b in place of the p sound is found in names. This is not a consistent change, and may be an individual scribal preference.

Sakabda 1554 (1632 CE)

The year of Haowoipam Yoncha, Sakabda 1554 (1632 CE). Yipungo Monsampa was born. Yipemma Tangkhompi the Aangom maiden died. (The people of) Somsok arrived. The building of a brick wall at the royal gate began at that period.[1] When Kapo Lachai went to Khamaran, he was killed there. They dredged Thangka (canal). Lairik Yengpa Keisa died. There was a boat race in the month of **Hyangkei**[2] (October/November).

1 Brick wall. This must refer to an extension of the wall as a brick wall by the palace gate had already been built in Sak. 1536.

2 *Hyangkei:* for *Hiyangkei*.

Sakabda 1555 (1633 CE)

The year of Heirangkhongcham Tharoi, Sakabda 1555[1] **(1633 CE**). As they were making the plinth to build a storehouse for bricks, Thamangcham Aaton was killed. Boat named Laimeepa was built. Yipungo Aahan (and others) dredged the Keikhong canal at Thangka. Many cattle died. Meetingu Khaki Ngampa along with his sons attacked the illegal immigrant Tangkhuns[2] in Khompitot and there was killing. Yipemma Koirempi died. There was a flood and paddy was scarce that year. (Wild) ducks also destroyed whatever paddy was left after the flood. The market was closed. Yipemma Koirempi was born. There was a great flood. Yipemma Khuraileima Kapompi died. In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), they dedicated Kangla of Laiyingthou Nongsapa.[3] While herding together the people of Yang,[4] Nakakpam Yanglei was killed. One hundred people died in battle.

1 Sakabda 1555: the overwriting in the *P. Ms* on the numerical of the Sakabda years which started in Sak. 1407 does not appear in this year.

2 *Tangkhun lamlapu:* illegal *Tangkhun* immigrants. Some Tangkhuns had already settled in Manipur but here an immigrant group is meant.

3 *Laiyingthou Nongsapa:* Sovereign Lord Nongsapa. *Nongsapa* is the divinity whose shrine was in the palace.

4 Yang *takhatpata: takhatpa*, meaning is uncertain. Most likely the people of Yang were being herded together. May be a scribal error for *tankhatpata* while he was herding together. Alternative reading: while repairing the ridge of the apex roof, Nakakpam Yanglei died. But this reading makes the following sentence an incomplete construction.

Sakabda 1556 (1634 CE)

The year of Santham Khoma, Sakabda 1556 (1634 CE). Yipungo Khongphen Thoupa died. Paddy from Kontha was brought up and it was distributed to meet the shortage. Hera the elephant was obtained. Mukta the elephant became wild and it killed Waikhom Aaroi. Wompu, the *Lakpa* of Naharup and Khamaran Aakaraja[1] also died. There was a drought. Food was scarce. They were victorious over Takhen. Captured 200 people in battle. Yipungo Koirempa, son of Yipungo Kyampa, had his ears pierced. Ningthem and

Sicha[2] went to each of the granaries and distributed paddy to all the inhabitants and the workers in the villages.

1 Khamaran Aakaraja: name with a Sanskrit term, raja. Khamaran, a Shan state between Manipur and Ava.

2 *Sicha:* term used for the wives of the kings including the reigning queens as well as the wives of princes and males related to the royal household. First time this term is used.

Sakabda 1557 (1635 CE)

The year of Moirang Tona, Sakabda 1557 (1635 CE). They hunted a wild ox in Thoupan and it was caught in Namun hill. It was brought to *lai* Kasa and the meat was distributed to each of the shrines in other villages.[1] Yipemma Tangkhompi died. Yipungo, the *Nongthonpa,* built a stone barricade in the land of Mayang. A large number of fish were caught in the Lemlei paddy field. Aaton, the *Pheita Hanchapa,* died. Meetingu Khaki Ngampa cultivated the Taothapi paddy field.[2] Yipungo Aahan Khongchompa raided Mungpung and captured Linkhak. They pulled down the palace at Taraopan. In the month of **Hyangkei** (October/November) at the boat race, the *lai* and Ningthem raced against each other. Boat races between the *lai* and Ningthem[3] began at that time.

1 *Khunpham khudingta:* conflation of *Khun,* village, *pham* short form of *laipham* where the shrine is, or designated area or centre, *khudingta* to each of them. Every village has a shrine which also serves as the centre of the village. A large courtyard is always attached to each of these shrines and village gatherings, both religious and communal, take place in these large open grounds.

2 *Taothapi* paddy is an early harvesting variety and is regarded as being not so rich in taste. The ploughing of the field by the king must have been a symbolic act to introduce this variety.

3 Boat race between the *lai* and Ningthem. The representation of the *lai* and the king are in the racing barges but they do not row. Each has a crew of rowers. The significance of the contest between the *Lai* (divinity) and the king is uncertain.

Sakabda 1558 (1636 CE)

The year of Nganglom Tonpa, Sakabda 1558 (1636 CE). Tonpi was attacked and Yipungohan captured Nongmayon the king of Tonpi. A male elephant from Khamaran and a female elephant from the Mayang arrived together. Yipungo Aahanpa attacked Nongphou Thouteng to clear the area for settlement. He was victorious over Nongphou. A man from the family of Hawaipam was killed during the raid. Soipam Tonsen, the chief of the village of Yaiching, the elder brother of Meetei Reima Taipompi, died. Aangoupampa went out to witness ceremonies in the area of the Tangkhuns. They built a royal shrine for the *lai* for Meetei Reima Taipompi in Thithai. The elephant Kyang Lanchaipa became wild in Mayang Yimpham[1] and killed Maipa Haopam Cha[2] Chingsong. Yipungo Aahan Khongchompa began to learn reading and writing. He settled with his family in his own house right away.

1 Mayang Yimpham: the area where the Mayangs who were captured earlier in Khakempa's reign were settled.

2 *Haopam cha: cha* child; lit. one born in Haopam family. To call a person by the family name was the custom amongst the Meeteis.

Sakabda 1559 (1637 CE)

The year of Chanampam Chingsong, Sakabda 1559 (1637 CE). Yipungo Aahanpa had his ears pierced. Aangoupampa Lamtapa died. They dedicated the shrine of Laiyingthou Kasa in Kangla. Aawa Reima[1] Tourangpi left for Aawa. Ningthem Khagempa stayed temporarily at Thangka. Meetei Reima Taipompi was demoted. Three elephants arrived from Kapo. Meepop (elephant) was kept within an enclosure made of strong *Uyin* timber. Meetei Reima Taipompi ascended the throne.

1 Aawa: first time Aawa is used.

Sakabda 1560 (1638 CE)

The year of Meisupam Mayam, Sakabda 1560 (1638 CE). Meetei Reima Takhembi was married (to the king of Takhen). The land in Yiharai was inspected. Aangoupampa Tangkhun Ngampa went out to witness ceremonies.

Sakabda 1561 (1639 CE)

The year of Sarangthem Ngaikhong, Sakabda 1561 (1639 CE). Meetingu Khunchaopa had his ears pierced. Yipungohan Khongchompa went out to witness ceremonies.

Sakabda 1562 (1640 CE)

The year of Moipung Lokpam Sakma, Sakabda 1562 (1640 CE). Aapujam Luwang died while making the path leading to the construction site of the great palace building. Meetei Reima Tompokpi was married. There was fighting between the Tangkhuns and the people of Lamlai and they killed each other in battle. While Yipungo Aahan Khongchompa was carrying out an attack on Nungtek, the gunner from Kapo Khamaran was killed. They were victorious over Mayon. They captured Loutong in battle. The people of Aahanlup *(Pana)* had a feast with meat. Nongmeipung Kanapa's goat disappeared in broad daylight.[1]

1 *Changna mangye:* past tense of *changna mangba,* a phrase which indicates something hard to believe. The implication in this context is uncertain.

Sakabda 1563 (1641 CE)

The year of Khumukcham Seran, Sakabda 1563 (1641 CE). The Aahanlup *(Pana)* attacked Hamkou. Yipungohan Khongchompa went to be with the Naharup *(Pana)* temporarily, as he was forbidden to join those who went to attack Hamkou. They captured the Tangkhuns of Monthou. They also captured Cheeroi. They attacked Nungtek and captured Lourengpu in battle. In the month of **Lamta** (February/ March), Thoupoi the baby elephant was born. A scuffle broke out between the Aahanlup and the Naharup *(Panas)* at the boat race. There was drought. Snasam maiden Chingcharoipi left.[1] Elephant Pangkura was also obtained.

1 Chingcharoipi left. Marriage is not mentioned in the text. First time the name of the country with which the marriage alliance was made is not indicated.

Sakabda 1564 (1642 CE)

The year of Laisupam Chingsong, Sakabda 1564 (1642 CE). Yipemma Yaosempi was born. Elephant Polonglai was brought out from Mayang for Yipungohan Khongchompa. In order for Meetei Reima Tompokpi to take part in a boat race in the area of Makui Lanloi, Yipungohan Khongchompa, Lairikyengpa Nongsamei, Paopam Tengkon and all the inhabitants of the village (of Makui Lanloi) who were subjects to the king were selected and they all took part in the boat race. As for battle, there was a battle at Mayon and many people were killed. Meetingu Khaki Ngampa inspected the area of the Kapui. Many boats were made from *Nou* timber.[1]

1 *Nouwuki. Nouwu* is the local name for teak, *ki* (postposition) of. Alternatively Nouwu is the name of the place where the boats were made.

Sakabda 1565 (1643 CE)

The year of Mutum Phathi, Sakabda 1565 (1643 CE). Meetei Reima Tompokpi took the title of Mayampi[1] and dedicated a tree. Yipungo Sna Hihon, the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun,[2] was born. Meetei Reima Tompokpi and Yipemma Takhen Chaipi died in the month of **Mera** (September/October).

1 *Mayampi:* lit. 'mother of many', from *mayam* many, *pi* mother, female form of *pa* father. First time this title is given to the queen.

2 The title *Yaisakun Lakpa* may have been given at birth; if not, the recording was done much later or it is a later scribal addition.

Sakabda 1566 (1644 CE)

The year of Thiyam Pansa, Sakabda 1566 (1644 CE). Khurai Leima Chingsompi was married. Three tigers were caught at Chingnga. Saikhom Kapompa died. Meetei Reima Mayampi[1] dedicated a paddy field.

1 Meetei Reima Tompokpi died in Mera Sakabda 1565 after taking the title Mayampi. Meetei Reima Mayampi mentioned here must be another wife of the king who must have taken the title after the death of Tompokpi.

Sakabda 1567 (1645 CE)

The year of Mangsatapam Khampa, Sakabda 1567 (1645 CE). Yipemma Kapompi was married. The land of Chothe was inspected. Meetingu Khakempa captured many (people of) Maram at Chawai paddy field battle. Kongyang who was a voluntary militia man lured them into battle. Aachoipa Institute[1] was established. They confronted each other[2] at Kangput. Then the battle of sticks[3] followed at Yanglenpu. Many people including Hakchao were deported to Suknu. There was an affray and Charai Kapong of Maram Nongthou[4] was killed at Heinoupokpi. Marangpu of the Tangkhuns was killed at Wakching. Ningthem Paikhompa was born. Lairikyengpa Nongsamei died.

1 *Aachoipa Loisang:* Institute of Volunteer Militia.

2 *Moimit ki lan:* meaning obscure. *Moimit* means eyes. Literally the phrase means 'battle of eyes', *ki* genitive suffix, *lan* battle. They confronted and stared at each other then began to use sticks and fought.

3 *Wuki lan:* battle of sticks.

4 *Maram Nongthou. Nongthou* also means height, could refer to the hilltop of Maram, or Nongthou may be the name of a place on the Maram hill.

Sakabda 1568 (1646 CE)

The year of Thatapam Aaton, Sakabda 1568 (1646 CE). Yipungo Aahan Khongchompa inspected the land in Chothe. Meetei Reima Serempi was born. In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), Yipemma Sanasapi[1] was born. While attacking Monthei, Haopam Aaton was killed. Lukang caught many monkeys at Lanloi Chingpa.[2] Thaoteicham Cha, the *Lakpa* of the main office of the Aahanlup Institute,[3] the father of Meetei Reima Tompokpi, died.

1 *Sanasapi: sna* is spelt as *sana*.

2 This sentence is very obscure. Alternative reading: 'as dry skulls were being dragged at the end of the battle, many monkeys captured them'. This reading is also possible, as taking of heads in battle was the practice at the time.

3 *Aahanlup Sanglen:* the main office of the Aahanlup Institute.

Sakabda 1569 (1647 CE)

The year of Yenkhoipam Muwa, Sakabda 1569 (1647 CE). Yipungo Tonapa had his ears pierced. Yipungo Yaiching Khunlakpa Omma was born. In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), they attacked Monthei once more. They captured Linkhak in battle. Sairem Tharoi died. They were victorious over Mungyong and Kyang. They captured the royal sculptor from Kyang.[1]

1 *Sna Kyang Laisapa:* conflation of three words. *Sna* royal, *Kyang* of Kyang, *Laisapa* one who carved or made *lai*, a sculptor.

Sakabda 1570 (1648 CE)

The year of Ningthoucham Khari, Sakabda 1570 (1648 CE). Meetei Reima Ponglen Khompi was born. Aawa marched against the Meeteis. Yipungo Mungyampa and others marched out to attack Aawa and were victorious. They also captured two barges used for selling goods at Kung of Sangku. The emissaries from Somsok and the maidservants from Mayang were made to compete in a race and the women won the race. Meetingu Khakempa established a new granary at Kongpa. Aapanpi from Chingkhei[1] was married to Nongpok.[2] They attacked Khutop Sinchan.

1 Aapanpi: could have been a woman of that name or one of the wives of the king who held the position of either the second or third in the ranking of wives. The phrase *Chingkheitaki,* meaning 'from *Chingkhei*', indicates that she was already in the service of the *lai* before this marriage rite took place. *Chingkhei,* which is northeast, is regarded to be the direction from which Nongpok came originally and his shrine is located in this direction.

2 *Nongpokka nuhongye:* married to Nongpok. Nongpok stands for *Lainingthou Nongpok,* divinity. Married to a *lai* means that the person was dedicated to the service of the *lai*. She was not a temple prostitute. Temple prostitution did not exist in Manipur.

Sakabda 1571 (1649 CE)

The year of Nongpokpam Tharoi, Sakabda 1571 (1649 CE). They dug a trench at Kaoren Aontha. Yipungo Monsampa died. A bridge for the *lai* was built. It was the beginning of nailing (carved woodwork) at the openings (by the king post) which looked like eyes[1], and which were under the ridge of the apex roofed building in Kangla.[2] Khurai Leima Serempi was born. Samsok was devastated. Chingsong of Sanchenthong died after having attended and supervised many paddy fields. Yipemma Chingpan Leima was married. In the months of **Poinu** (November/ December), **Wakching** (December/January) and **Phairen** (January/February), in these three months Yongpa, Tongpa and many other boats were made at Samutuk.

1 *Moimit:* lit. means eye. In the traditional Meetei *Yumchao* building, under the main ridge *(yang)* of the apex roof there are two openings on either side of the king post. These could be taken to be the eyes which are under the ceiling of the house. In these openings exquisitely carved wooden mullions and transoms were used.

2 *Kanglaki yangta:* lit. at the ridge of Kangla. No specific building is mentioned. But it could imply the adoption of the style in all the buildings in the Kangla complex.

Sakabda 1572 (1650 CE)

The year of Wangkheirakpam Khongnam, Sakabda 1572 (1650 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), they began to build the main royal palace. In the month of **Thawan** (July/August) Yipungohan Khongchompa died. The final death rites[1] were performed in the month of **Langpan** (August/September).

1 *Potloiye:* First time *potloiye* is mentioned. Conflation of two words, *pot* anything related to, *loiye* past tense of *loipa/loiba* to complete. Final rites relating to the dead person. After the imposition of Hinduism in Manipur, *potloiba* stands for cremation, which takes place within a few hours after the death of the person. At this period *potloiye* does not refer to cremation, but to either burial or secondary burial.

Sakabda 1573 (1651 CE)

The year of Langtem Marampa, Sakabda 1573 **(1651 CE).** In the month of **Yinga** (May/June), Yipemma Sanapi died of smallpox. Yumnam Tonpa died in the month of **Thawan** (July/August). Aawa marched against (the Meeteis) in the month of **Phairen** (January/February). Monnai, the *Pheita Hitang*[1] of the Institute of Eunuchs, died.

1 *Pheita Hitang: Pheita* eunuch, *Hitang,* post in the Institute of Eunuchs, below that of Hanchapa. He himself may or may not have been a eunuch.

Sakabda 1574 (1652 CE)

The year of Sairom Mitsang, Sakabda 1574 (1652 CE). In the month of **Yingen** (June/July), on Sunday Meetingu Khakempa died. He reigned on the throne for fifty-five years. His total age was seventy-six years.[1]

1 Seventy-six years: discrepancy in counting. If Khakempa ascended the throne at the age of twenty-four and reigned for fifty-five years, when he died he should have been seventy-nine or at least seventy-eight years.

MEETINGU KHUNCHAOPA, SAKABDA 1574–1588 (1652–1666 CE)

Sakabda 1574 (1652 CE)

[The year of Sairom Mitsang, Sakabda 1574 (1652 CE).] In the month of **Thawan** (July/August), on Saturday, Meetingu[1] Khunchaopa ascended the throne at the age of thirty-two years. (They) attacked Mahou in the month of **Langpan** (August/ September). The river Yangkoi was crossed on the back of elephant Marampa together with Sangkai, the son of the elephant attendant. (They) were victorious over Mahou. Captured in battle Khelekpu and Charangchong of the waters of Yingourok. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), Yipungo Nongthonpa presided over public celebrations. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March) Karou was attacked. As it was inauspicious to cross the river by Menu bridge they crossed the river on rafts made of banana plants. Keitongwang was captured in battle. Hanpa Mansei the swordsmith and Hanpa Muwa Kharisa, who could cast moulds, these two went to Aahongkei to inspect (the area) up to the boundary of the land and returned.

1 Meetingu: reverted to the use of Meetingu and not Laiyingthou. Scribal note on top of the P. *Ms* leaf 'Meeteingu Khunchaopa became king.'

Sakabda 1575 (1653 CE)

The year of Thoukaraicham Takhen, Sakabda 1575 (1653 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), Yipemma Yaosompi was married. In the month of **Langpan** (August/September), they marched to attack Yitok. Kharawang, Chinghaopang, Khongsanpa, Konte, Sawang and Langmeipa, these five and others totalling thirteen people were captured in battle. They attacked Makhan. Aachongnga, Maichampa and Chammaingang, these three and others totalling eighty people were captured in battle. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January) Ningthem participated in a boat race. He also went out to witness ceremonies. Yipungo Nongthonpa went down to witness ceremonies.[1] In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), they attended the many fields in Samsok. Khomma, who was in charge of beasts, died. Cattle and buffaloes were captured. Konling in Hangkun was attacked.

1 *Lam khumye. Lam* refers to place or area, *khumye* is a scribal error for *kumba* to go down, past tense *Kumye*. Same as *Lam thokye* but in this case it involved going down to the area where the celebration took place.

Sakabda 1576 (1654 CE)

The year of Haowoipam Mupa, Sakabda 1576 (1654 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), the plinth for the shrine of *lai* Kasa was made. Meetei Reima Takhempi and Khurai Reima Sanathon left to attack Kuyong. They were victorious over Kuyong. They captured four women and one man, totalling five people. They were victorious over Khutlai and captured Ponglenpa in battle. In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), (the people of) Nungsai and Waineng were herded together. There was a horse epidemic. In the month of **Yinga** (May/June) most of the noblemen were fined. Thamangcham Khoiri, Sairem Kapompi, Neining Koichompa and Khomma Hurairoi, these four died. Most of

the nobles were deported at the place where the barricade was. In the month of **Mera** (September/October), Aawa Reima, Nukhram maiden Mingthoi Ngampi left (for Aawa.) They were victorious over Makhong, Turep and Maicham. In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), Aakoichampa Naran, the *Lakpa* of Naharup and others, attacked Aanan. A man was shot and then captured in battle. There was a very heavy fall of hailstones. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), Saron was attacked and fifty people including Loutongpu were captured in battle. Yipemma Kapompi died.

Sakabda 1577 (1655 CE)

The year of Thoukraicham Mayampa, Sakabda 1577 (1655 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) a new granary was established at Kongpa. In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), Yipungo Kyampa, along with his wife and children, the whole family died in Pengki. Yipungo Nongthonpa was also deported to Yiharai. Paopam Tengkon, the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup, Nousom Cha, the *Hanchapa* of boat attendants, Hicham Chakha, Yipungo Kapompa and Thaoteicham Samurok, these seven people died.[1] In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), a barricade was built at Yiharai. Sanglen Chingsong, the *Hanjaba*[2] of the Institute of Conscripts, was killed by his son Koirempa. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March) Yitok, after hiring the Tangkhuns from the whole of the mountain range (where they had been settled), attacked Karong, Ngaikhong, Sarang, Nungpang, Wakching, Lengkhu Lenglen, Sikhong, Kamu, Antro and Yairipok. A large number of people died. Yipungo Tangkhompa was born.

1 The death of so many high-ranking men along with some princes, and the deportation mentioned earlier on, hint at an attempt on the throne.

2 *Hanchapa/Hanjaba:* ch and j used interchangeably.Sakabda 1578 (1656 CE)

The year of Heisanam Khori, Sakabda 1578 **(1656 CE).** In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), Meetei Reima Takhenpi's father, Hanpa Mansei the swordsmith, died. In the month of **Yingen** (June/July), Khoiya Mongpicham Cha the *Pukhranpa* died. His final rites[1] were performed in the month of **Langpan** (August/September). Meetingu Khunchaopa went down[2] to participate in a boat race. He also went down[3] to witness ceremonies. Yipungo Mungyampa the *Lakpa* of Khwai went out to witness ceremonies.

1 *Potloiye.* The term means final rites were performed. For cremation the *P. Ms* uses the term *meita ikpa,* describing the act of burning. Since this rite took place three months after the death, whereas cremation takes place on the same day, it refers to secondary burial.

2–3 *hi tongba khumye; lam khumye: Khumye* probably a scribal error for *kumme* to go down in order to take part in the events.

Sakabda 1579 (1657 CE)

The year of Nongpokpam Chingsong Sakabda 1579 (1657 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), Mangsa of Kapo was devastated. (They were) victorious over Khutlai, Tonsen and Mahou. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), (they were) victorious over Langte and captured Khommarengpa in battle. Yipungo Langte was born.

Sakabda 1580 (1658 CE)

The year of Chanampam Mupa, Sakabda 1580 (1658 CE). In the month of Mera (September/October), Yipungo Mungyampa and others invaded Aa Tangkhun[1] and were victorious. They captured Turasek and Aawui in battle. The bridge by the Lai broke due to the large number of people who came to watch the *Mera San Tupa* show.[2] In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), Khomaram Tari, who went to meet the elephant Komta which was (the bride price) for Meetei Reima Takhempi, arrived. In the same month, Meetingu Khunjaopa once again attacked Aa Tangkhun and he was victorious.

1 *Aa Tangkhun:* conflation of three terms: *Aa* the ethnic name of the people, *tang* short form of *tangba* to take temporary shelter, *khun* the village where they were temporarily resident. Or people of Aa group living then with the Tangkhun.

2 *Mera San Tupa Kummei. Mera:* September/October, *san* cattle, *tupa* to fall or to kill, *kummei* show or entertainment. Most likely it was an annual occasion when cattle were killed and then the people partook of the meat. This may be part of the *Mera Haochong* communal dance festival. How the cattle were killed is not mentioned, but there is the legend of Khamba and Nongban of Moirang, whose courage and strength were put to the test when both had to catch a wild bull. In the Panthoibi lyric of the Lai Haraoba we also have the description of Nongpok Ningthou wandering and looking for a bull. Since there is the sport of *Kei Yang thekpa* (the breaking of the spine of the tiger with bare hands), one can assume that this *Mera San Tupa* was also a show of valour and strength. Perhaps it was a kind of Meetei bullfight.

Sakabda 1581 (1659 CE)

The year of Langtem Sanampa, Sakabda 1581 (1659 CE). In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), the great palace was inaugurated. In the month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November), Somsok was attacked. (Rain) was late in the three months of **Poinu and Wakching** (November/December/January). The brave and the strong in the army were chosen and wives were given to them. They became the wives' husbands.[1] Ningthem was also presented with a ceremonial egret feather by the army and (Ningthem) wore it. Elephant Marampa, Sangkai, the son of the attendant to the elephant, Lakpam Lusong of Langpok and Aaheipa the *Hitang*, who had been detained (in the battle at Somsok) fled back in the month of **Phairen** (January/February). In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), they constructed Charoi barricade. Chingkhwam from Mangsamkei, and the keeper of the granary at Kyam, these two were killed in an armed fight because both went to (join) the uprising in Phairen by Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Khwai.

1 *Matu Matei pineiye:* lit. wives and husbands were given (to each other). The *P. Ms* has the letter *ei* after the word *matu (matu ei),* making it read as *matu matei,* meaning wife, husband. When the consonants are the same in two or more words and the difference is in the vowel only, and when the words come next to each other, the Meetei scribes put the vowel only, to indicate a different word, as in the above case, *matu ei* reading as *matu matei*. The mention of husband or *matei* is not clear except that it indicates that, for those who were not yet married, husbands were chosen. To those who had proved to be brave, for them wives were found. It was the custom to give maidens from the royal household as wives to the brave unmarried men. Polygamy was more in practice amongst royalty. The *Deva Ms* has *matu matu pineiye,* giving an impression of wife swapping, which did not and does not exist in the Meetei culture. The *P. Ms* and *Din. Ms* have *matu ei.*

Sakabda 1582 (1660 CE)

The year of Sairom Mansei, Sakabda 1582 (1660 CE). In the two months of **Sachiphu** and **Kalen** (March/April/May) they erected the big mound Langte Pungchao. In the month of **Yinga** (May/June) Thingpaicham Takhen, Heiwam Tengkon and Mayanglambam Pheitek, these three were punished with death for crimes they committed. Naosom Cha Kyampa also was deported to Kontong. Keikranpi and Namphou Okkronpi, these two were set free after having their noses cut off. In the months of **Poinu** and **Wakching** (November/December/January), they dug a moat from the royal palace gate and round the palace brick wall, which took two months. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), Mayangs, including Ramtou the son of Mayang king Manikphra, and three other different families arrived and they wanted to own Aakoksa village.[1] There was a cattle epidemic. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), Pairura, his son Kyang, Khoiri, Khunthoupa and his brother were caught in a net by the army.[2] These five people were killed for crimes they had committed. A barricade named Ngapurum barricade was built where they were killed. Laiton Tharoi was fined.

1 *Mayang ningthou macha Aakoksa Khun Pamba:* This Mayang migrant wanted not only to live but also to own a whole village, perhaps to establish a little state of his own, and he had brought settlers who would very likely be his subjects.

2 *Tengkonna yin lakpiye:* lit. *tenkonna* by the army, *yin* fishing net, *lakpiye* from *lakpa* to capture or drown. Meaning obscure.

Sakabda 1583 (1661 CE)

The year of Haopam Keisa, Sakabda 1583 (1661 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) they went to look for fish in Lamlei paddy field. They circulated from one boathouse to another. In the earlier part of the month of **Yinga** (May/June), a large shoal of *Ngasing* fish were spotted. The shoal of fish reached up to the area of Kontha. In the month of **Yingen** (June/July), Snakhonpa Karna, Laitoncham maiden Tharoi, these two were punished with death for crimes they had committed. In the month of **Mera** (September/October), Meetei Reima Mongkhong Ngampi died. The body was a carried on an elephant's back and the people of the main village and the surrounding areas took part in the funeral rites. In the month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November), they completed (dredging) Naka and Thingen. There was a great flood. Leima[1] Tharoi, Thapam maiden, Mongpi Swa, Chingsong Laitoncham maiden, Monting and Khoiri Humairoi, these six people were fined. Santhinpa, Langmaithem Langmei and his brother Mungyang and Yumnam Moipung Lokpa, these four were deported to Kontong. In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), Sangku and Mangkan arrived. Khuntrakpam Sanayan, Leimajam Maimu, Mutum Cha Chingsong Khongtouwa, these three were compelled to go to Mangkan. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), Chingsong Laitonchampa and Monting were compelled to go to Tekhao.

1 *Leima:* ladies married to the royal household.

Sakabda 1584 (1662 CE)

The year of Thoukraicham Yumta, Sakabda 1584 (1662 CE). In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), those who were sent to Tekhao returned. In the month of **Poinu**

(November/December), the river was blocked at the entrance of the Menu bridge. An earthen wall was erected by the royal great palace. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), Pamon[1] Tengkura, Khomtram Maton, Khaitem Kongyampa and Heirangkhongcham Mahampa, these four were punished with death for crimes they had committed. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), Mungyampa the brave, the *Lakpa* of Khwai, died. Food was scarce. Chong Aapang died. Khuntrakpam Sanayan, Leimacham Maimu and Chingsong Khontouwa, these three who were sent to Mangkan, returned. The emissary from Takhen also arrived with one elephant and a woman. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), the same elephant, the eunuch from Takhen, Loukrakpam Moirampa and Chongtham Thingla, these five left for Takhen.

1 *Pamon:* for brahmin. At this time brahmins were not exempt from capital punishment.

Sakabda 1585 (1663 CE)

The year of Laisram Aaton, Sakabda 1585 (1663 CE). In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), a man named Cheikakpa[1] who lived in Sangaiprou was murdered and it was known throughout the land.

1 *Mee chei kakpapu:* alternative reading, *mee* man, *cheikakpa* to cut sticks, *pu* (suffix), a man of Sangaiprou who was cutting firewood was murdered.

Sakabda 1586 (1664 CE)

The year of Loitongpam Kapum, Sakabda 1586 (1664 CE). In the two months of **Langpan** and **Mera** (August/September/October), a comet appeared. When they attacked Thonlang many people died. Santhinpa Yaoru, Haopam Keisa, Thangcham Tari, Khoisanam Maring, Nongthonpam Khomma, Chingkhwam Liklai, Lamlei Rakpa the weaver and Tonloksangou, these eight and others, totalling sixty-five people, died.

Sakabda 1587 (1665 CE)

The year of Haowoipam Aathing, Sakabda 1587 (1665 CE). In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), Meetingu Khunchaopa dedicated a tree. Regarding warfare, after they have captured Pasan the brave of Huining and 100 others in battle, Paosan[1] fought and he was killed on the same day in the market-place. Yipemma Kharoi Ngampi died. In the month of **Langpan** (August/September), the layout of the course of a war trench from Chinga up to (the area) of Thangwaipan was made. In the two months of **Phairen** and **Lamta** (January/February/March), a war trench around Khwairampan was dug. They also built a barricade.

1 Paosan: scribal error for Pasan. He was captured and later publicly executed.

Sakabda 1588 (1666 CE)

The year of Nganglom Lamcha, Sakabda 1588 (1666 CE). In the month of **Yinga** (May/June), 3 Thursday, Meetei Reima Takhempi was demoted. Chirom Tharoi, Nungpang Hangleipa and Chirom Omma, these three were fined. In the month of **Yingen** (June/July), 5 Monday, Sija Yaosompi,[1] elephant Pisintrai, both were dedicated[2] to Yaiyingthou Nongsapa.[3] In the month of **Langpan** (August/September), 8 Monday,

Chirom Omma, Chirom Tharoi, Taram Pukchao the keeper of the granary and Sairem Keisa, all five died.[4] In the month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November), 27 Tuesday, Meetingu Khunchaopa after reigning on the throne for fifteen years died at the age of forty-five years.[5] In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), on the full moon Saturday, there was a lunar eclipse.

The entries have become more detailed by introducing dates and days in the months.

1 Sija: j has been introduced. Sija in place of Sicha. May be due to the individual scribe and not necessarily a complete adoption of the letter.

2 *Katye:* from *katpa* to offer, but not in the sense of sacrifice, or temple prostitution.

3 *Yaiyingthou Nongsapa:* Yai scribal error for Laiyingthou.

4 all five died: discrepancy, presumably one name has dropped out.

5 died at the age of forty-five years. He was thirty-two when he began to reign and he reigned for fifteen years. A discrepancy of two years.

MEETINGU PAIKHOMPA, SAKABDA 1588–1619 (1666–1697 CE)

Sakabda 1588 (1666 CE)

[The year of Nganglom Lamcha, Sakabda 1588 (1666 CE)]. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January) 5 Friday, Meetingu Paikhompa ascended the throne.[1]

1 Scribal note on top of *P. Ms* leaf 'Paikhompa became king.'

Sakabda 1589 (1667 CE)

The year of Loitongpam Chaopa, Sakabda 1589 (1667 CE). In the month of **Thawan** (July/August), on a Saturday, Ningthem Paikhompa had his ears pierced. In the month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November), he participated in a boat race. They built a granary and at the same time went raiding. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), Yipungo Lanhampa the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun went out to witness ceremonies. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), on the full moon Sunday, in the night, Meetei Reima Serempi was fined. 19 Thursday, Aamu Nakanpa and his uncle Laisupa were involved in an affray in Kangpokpi. Aangom Cha Nayan the *Lakpa*, Kyampa, Wongtei, Khente and Langtha Ngampa, these five brothers died in Penki.

Sakabda 1590 (1668 CE)

The year of Keisam Langmai, Sakabda 1590 (1668 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), 5 Friday, Haopam maiden Meetei Reima Ponglen Khompi ascended the throne. In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), Aahanlup Institute, Naharup Institute and Aachoipa Institute, these three Institute buildings were dedicated. In the month of **Langpan** (August/September), the *Lakpa* of Khwai, father of Haopam maiden Meetei Reima Khaki Keithen Thanpi, had his ears pierced. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), they attacked Nungkhon. They captured Wakchington in battle. They fought with swords at Kuyong. Many people were captured in battle. Those who were the favourites (of the king) had a feast where meat was served. There was also a competitive game with the prize of a special shirt named *Khongnangsapa*[1] and this was

accompanied with the drinking of *yu*. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), Luwangching hills were inspected.

1 *Khongnangsapa: Khongnang* pupil tree, *sapa* to make. Meaning uncertain. Most probably a shirt which had the pattern of a pupil tree either printed or embroidered on it.

Sakabda 1591 (1669 CE)

The year of Santham Sara, Sakabda 1591 (1669 CE). 3 Sunday, **Poinu** (November/ December), Yirom Cha Khongloi died. They attacked Tonsen. Captured Ponglep in battle. Keisam Songlai, Leisangthem Sangkai, Langmaithempa of Suknu, these three died (in battle). In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), Meetingu Paikhompa went out to witness ceremonies. Lanhanpa, the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun inspected places.[1] In the month **Lamta** (February/March), Yipemma Snakhompi died. Ningthem left for Keirathong for a temporary stay there.

1 *lam khumye:* meaning uncertain.

Sakabda 1592 (1670 CE)

The year of Thoukraicham Longkhum, Sakabda 1592 (1670 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), the area of Chethe[1] was inspected. While Ningthem was travelling, a deer ran out from Chinga. Loirencham Tengkon captured it and presented it to Ningthem. In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), a cattle-drawn palanquin and other items arrived (as a bride price) for the Meetei maiden to be married to the Mayang king. The mother of the maiden regarded the price[2] as too little and sent them back. An elephant and other items were sent as the (bride price). There was a cattle epidemic. In the month of **Thawan** (July/August), on the new moon Friday, Aangoupampa Marampa died. In the month of **Langpan** (August/ September), Yipungo Aomma, the royal father of Ningthem Charairongpa, had his ears pierced. When the guns which were stored in the Naharup Institute (building) were found to have been stolen by Sarotphaipam Thengka and Keisam Tonpa, both were killed at Kangpokpi. As food was scarce (the granary) at Thangka was opened and paddy was released. The keeper of the granary at Yairipok was fined in cows, horses and servants as he committed the crime of killing Chengpi the elephant. He had to pay two of each of the items, as a fine.[3] In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), many boats were made in Sanayan and all the villages were involved (in producing them). The villagers stayed nine months in the forest. 20 Monday, Meetingu Paikhompa left (with others) to fell a tree to make a racing barge. The racing barge was completed in **Lamta** (February/March). Some people died (in the forest). Meetei Reima Ponglen Khonpi halted at Nakappa for three days and prepared a feast for all the inhabitants of the whole village, the subjects of the king. Aangoupampa Kampongphapa ascended the throne (of Aangom).

1 Chethe: probably a scribal error for Chothe.

2 Price here refers to the bride price for the maiden to be married to the Mayang king. The bargain for a higher price is interesting. In the Meetei society there was no custom of a bride price amongst the people except the royalty. It is uncertain if this practice originated in Manipur or was imported from those who were seeking the hand of the maidens.

3 Two of each of the items were fined: the alternative reading could be twenty-two, since the entry is in numerical number. But this is unlikely.

Sakabda 1593 (1671 CE)

The year of Heisnam Tenpa, Sakabda 1593 (1671 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) a beast called *Lot*[1], which looked like a horse, arrived from Kapo. Two brothers Mangkan and Changtaba, Konok the timekeeper[2] and Mangkan the horse, all arrived. In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), 10 Thursday, Meetei Reima Ponglen Khompi was married. In the month of **Yinga** (May/June), 17 Saturday, Keisam maiden Tangkhompi the Mayang Leima left (for Mayang). In the month of **Thawan** (July/August), there was a landslide at Nongmaiching mountain. In the month of **Mera** (September/October), Naosom Cha the *Pukhranpa* and others caught three tigers at Ngoupa Sanlan. One escaped. In the month of **Hyangkei** (October/ November), 10 Monday, Chantam Cha Aarikkhupa died. In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), Luwang, the *Hitang* of the brass smiths was attacked and killed by the keeper of the granary at Laiyingthou Hanpa in Woinu. Yipemma, who (later) was married into the family of Naosom, was born. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), they attacked Khanpok and captured twelve people in battle. 10 Monday, Ningthem and Sija climbed up Langmaiching mountain to worship.

1 *Lot:* probably for *Lola*, modern name for a donkey.

2 *Konok tan yeipa:* Konok either a personal name or one from the group of astrologers known as *Konok*. *Tan yeipa: Tan* for *tal*, a Bengali term for a musical bar or measure, beating of time. *Yeipa* to strike, one who kept time in music. It is not clear if he was a professional musician or if he was employed in the service of the king to strike the hours *(pung)* in the Meetei method of reckoning time. Meetei music except the marching tunes did not use strict beats and the *pena* improvised the tune to the vocal music.

Sakabda 1594 (1672 CE)

The year of Thoutapam Tharoi, Sakabda 1594 (1672 CE). In the month of **Langpan** (August/September), big rats were found in the area of Kharam Hao (in the south.) They destroyed lots of paddy plants in the fields. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), 3 Sunday, the foundations of a shrine were laid. 19 Tuesday, Khuraileima Lamhampi was born. In the month of **Phairen** (January/ February), there was smallpox epidemic. Macha Yipungo Kapompa the king's son and Khuraileima Serempi died of smallpox. In the month of **Lamta** (February/ March), a tiger was caught in Woklok ravine in Sekta.

Sakabda 1595 (1673 CE)

The year of Khumukcham Yoncha, Sakabda 1595 (1673 CE). In the month of **Yinga** (May/June), 5 Saturday, Ningthem Charairongpa was born. In the month of **Yingen** (June/July) Meetei Reima Takhempi died. In the month of **Thawan** (July/August), a tiger was caught at Sangaibrou. Also one more tiger was caught at Souponwa. Laitonchampa died after a tiger had bitten him. In the month of **Langpan** (August/September), ten villages of Loi Aachep in Langlong fled (to the capital) because of the scarcity of food. In the month of **Mera** (September/October), 10 Saturday, the people left to hunt elephants. They failed to catch any. Then they left immediately to attack Monthei. Captured ten

people in battle. These were blind people. They noticed layered white umbrellas[1] which had been hoisted for the *lai* in Kairamthen.

1 *Sekpin:* layered white umbrella, cut from either cloth or paper in simple or intricate patterns and attached to a tall post. This probably refers to the Lai Haraoba festival.

Sakabda 1596 (1674 CE)

The year of Haowoipam Tora, Sakabda 1596 (1674 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), a pond for Lai Puthipa and also a moat round (the Lai's compound) was dug. The keeper of the palace wardrobe was killed in the month of **Kalen** (April/May) on account of a *Khamen Chatpa* cloth[1] which was said to have been stolen by him. The first day[2] of the lunar month of **Yinga** (May/June) was Saturday. 10 Monday, Moirang Mupa left to receive Mayangsa.[3] 25 Tuesday, Punsi the queen's uncle died. 26 Wednesday, Tonapa the royal father of Ningthem Paikhompa died. 27 Thursday, Ngangpam Aachou died. The first day of the month of **Langpan** (August/September) was Friday. A tiger was caught inside a mat which was rolled up. It was alive. They broke its front legs and made it fight with an elephant in the market-place. 12 Tuesday, a tiger was caught at Chingkon. Laisram Chingloi died after a tiger had bitten him. 28 Monday, a tiger was caught at Laiyingthou Hanpa. The first day of the month of **Mera** (September/October) was Sunday. 2 Monday, a tiger was caught at Khamlangpa. The month of **Hyangkei** (October/November) began on a Tuesday. 14 Monday, Ningthem Paikhompa went down to participate in a boat race. 16 Wednesday, at the archery target-shooting display, Ningthem Paikhompa's arrow, shot from a distance of a spear's throw,[4] hit a trout which was in the water, piercing a lotus leaf, in the Pengpakhong canal which was beyond the front courtyard of the Haopam family. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), Ningthem went on a tour. Aangoupampa (Aangom king) went out to witness ceremonies.

1 *Khamen Chatpa:* either a silk or a fine linen cloth which had the python design on it. This cloth was not used by anyone except royalty and those to whom it was given as a prize by the king for extraordinary deeds of valour.

2 *tha aahan nong: tha* month, *aahan* first, *nong* day. The first day of the month. The Meeteis followed the lunar calendar. The following day after the new moon was *tha aahan nong.* Colloquially also called *nongma panba* or *nongma,* the first day of the lunar month. Change in style of recording. First day of the month is noted.

3 *Mayangsa:* lit. beast from Mayang. Probably an elephant from Mayang.

4 *Tahun tapata:* from *ta* spear, *hun* from *hunba* to throw, *tapa* where it falls, *ta* at, a distance of a spear's throw.

Sakabda 1597 (1675 CE)

The year of Loukrakpam Porou, Sakabda 1597 (1675 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), Ningthem ploughed the Field of Joy[1] in Kongpa. In the month of **Yingen** (June/July), Yipungo Tangkhompa died. In the month of **Thawan** (July/August), the *Nayan Lakpa,*[2] the father of Leima (the king's wife) died. After all the people who worked in granaries had agreed that they should not work, Langmaithem Mungyang and Luwang the *Aachoipa,* these two who were in charge, saw that granary workers who also built fences and builders from Wakching stopped work. They stopped work for eight years.[3] Two elephants arrived from Takhen. The first day of the month of **Langpan**

(August/September) was Wednesday. 28 Tuesday, Haopam Cha Mayonngampa was born. The first day of **Hiyangkei** (October/ November) was Saturday. 3 Monday, Sicha Ponglen Khombi along with Yenpam Tengkon, Serem and Koiren Lanu left for Takhen to bargain for elephants. Khombi left for Takhen to bargain for elephants. Purum Pan Leima also was escorted on the elephant Sayam Phaba. But the elephant died at Samurou.[4] In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), they attacked Mayon. Haonu Leiyonnu and others, totalling nine people, were captured in battle. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February) a tiger which entered in the Lai's shrine of Hicham Cha's residence was caught. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March) Ningthem went to Lemleirou paddy field to look for fish. Immediately they attacked Sekwai Khanpok. They captured ten people in battle. Aakoksa Aakam and Moirangthem Nakon died in battle. They also lost (some) gold.

1 *Harao lou:* Field of Joy. Probably a symbolic act on the part of the king to mark the ploughing season of the year with the arrival of the early rain at the beginning of spring. This falls just before the season of the Meetei Cheiraopa, the new year festival which is still observed. The spring festival is to be identified with Yaosang. Yaosang later became Hinduised and combined with Holi.

2 *Nayan Lakpa: Lakpa* post of a chief, *Nayan* meaning uncertain. Probably to do with the king's ceremonial ear decorations. First time this post is mentioned.

3 *Keiroi:* from *kei* granary, *roi* (plural form) granary hands. It is possible that they were the labourers in the fields which belonged to the king and the first strike to be launched against such a system. They were also joined by those who were forever building houses for the king and his household. The house builders were taken from Wakching.

4 Samurou or field of elephant. May be aetiological legend.

Sakabda 1598 (1676 CE)

The year of Moipunglokpam Pongsa, Sakabda 1598 (1676 CE). The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 6 Friday, a young elephant whose tusks had not yet grown arrived from Takhen. Chuki (the fire conjuror) who could wave fire along with those who owned dogs (to display tricks)[1] and also those who played Singka[2] went back. Aakoijam Cha Samurok, the *Lakpa* of Naharup *(Pana)*, died. In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), 10 Friday, (some people) left for Takhen to bargain for an elephant for Naosom Cha the *Pukhranpa*. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), they completed the construction (of a road) from Chinga up to Mangsamkei. All the graves in the living area were ordered to be moved outside the (city) wall.[3] Suknu was regarded for a Loi (area).[4] They made a barricade named Khongngai Keiroipan. The people from Mangkan came to inform them that they had defeated the Mayangs. There was fire at Kouparen (mountain).[5]

1 *Huipu:* owner of dogs. Dogs were probably used to display tricks.

2 *Singka:* a non-Meetei term. A portable musical instrument. These three groups of people appear to have been a miniature circus party.

3 This may have involved secondary burial.

4 *Loi tongye:* meaning uncertain. All of Suknu was either declared a Loi area or was subjugated. Note, Lokha and Haokha in Suknu were already subjugated in Taothingmang's time.

5 Fire at Kouparen: most likely it was at Kouparen mountain. In the hills the slash-and-burn method is used for cultivation and it is possible that the people were preparing for cultivation. There is no indication that Kouparen mountain is volcanic.

Sakabda 1599 (1677 CE)

The year of Chanam Samurok, Sakabda 1599 (1677 CE). In the month of **Kalen** (April/May) the people at Sangaiparou killed Chanampam Mayang[1] and his brother. Aaheipa died from drinking *yu*. Panlongpa and his servant fled according to prearranged plans. In the month of **Mera** (September/October), Thoipi the Ngangpam maiden was fined. Yipungo Langte was deported to Suknu. The maid-servant[2] of the queen who committed crimes against Kangla (the palace) was punished with death. (The people who lived at) the rear portion of the village of Tarao[3] fled. The graves from amongst the housing areas were relocated. Lanhampa the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun and Langmaithem Langmei the *Lakpa* of Naharup *(Pana)*, these two led some people to thresh paddy at Nongphou. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 17 Thursday, those who went to buy an elephant from Takhen for Naosom Cha the *Pukhranpa* returned with a female elephant. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), the barricade at Soichepan was built. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March) they attacked Aanan. Konlen Lukhoipa was murdered by his child.[4]

1 *Chanampam Mayang:* Mayang with a Meetei surname.

2 *Leimanai:* servants of the queen, who was normally chosen from the Kalisa group of the immigrant Mayangs. First time the term is used.

3 *Tarao khunton: Khunton* lit. the rear portion of the village. Specific areas in most villages were referred to as either the head *(khunthak)*, middle *(khunyai)* or the rear area of the village.

4 *Macha:* child, gender not specified.

Sakabda 1600 (1678 CE)

The year of Wangkheirakpam Lontai, Sakabda 1600 (1678 CE). The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 14 Thursday, they inaugurated *lai* Kasa's shrine. There was a lunar eclipse of the full moon, Friday. In the month of **Yinga** (May/June), Moirangthem Cha Luwang, the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms,[1] and others attacked Nungkon. They captured thirty people in battle. A temporary house for Sija Lanhampi was built. In the month of **Yingen** (June/July), Soukaicham Tonpa the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup *(Pana)* died. In the month of **Thawan** (July/August), some of the people of Aaimon who fled were mistaken for the people of Takhen marching up to invade the land. Santhin, Lukok and others were deported to Loi.[2] Attacked Aanan in the month of **Langpan** (August/September). In the month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November), Hijam Cha the *Nongthonpa* and others attacked Sachun. They captured thirty people in battle. Koirempa the *Hitang* of the oarsmen from Yentrenpa and others left for Aawa. The brass smith from Kapo died on the journey.

1 *Sakonsenpa Hanchapa (Hanjaba):* official in charge of horse grooms. First time this phrase is used.

2 *loi tongye*. In this context, the meaning is deportation to one of the Loi areas.

Sakabda 1601 (1679 CE)

The year of Yenkhoipam Khampa, Sakabda 1601 (1679 CE). In the month of **Langpan** (August/September), they completed the road from Khongai Keiroi to Phayeng. In the month of **Mera** (September/October), they attacked Mayangkhang and Koichom

from Wakching died. Aachoipam Cha Luwang and Yrom Chiroi, these two and others left to receive the *Mayangsa*. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), dogs became rabid and died. They completed making roads and drains. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), they completed dredging the old river.

Sakabda 1602 (1680 CE)

The year of Heisnam Kyampa, Sakabda 1602 (1680 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), they attacked Sanchikrum. Chaopa the *Hitang* for bridges died when the boat capsized at Ngaroipha Pung. They captured thirty-one people in battle. In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), the area of Namunchi was inspected. In the month of **Hyangkei** (October/November), they dredged a river beginning from Chinga and aimed at reaching Keipham in Yiharai. A comet appeared in the sky. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 17 Sunday, the *Khunlakpa* of Leimanai invited Ningthem to *yu*. After Ningthem had left (for the invitee's house) the royal great palace was set alight after midnight. The fire spread up to the Mangkan Institute[1] building. It was reported that the Mayangs were defeated by the people associated with Mangkan. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), they began to rebuild the royal great palace.

1 *Mangkan sang: Mangkan* Institute—*mang* grave, *kan* from *akanba* strong, or from *kanba* to safeguard, to protect—dealt with the burial of royalties, including secondary burial. Alternative possible reading: to take *Mangkan* as an alternative of *Mangang*, referring to a *pre-Ningthoucha* ruling clan and the area they occupied.

Sakabda 1603 (1681 CE)

The year of Sairom Maimu, Sakabda 1603 (1681 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), Ningthem gave Naoroipam Chaopi to *lai* Kasa in marriage.[1] In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), a man from Thonlang and another man from Nongphou were made to be tossed about by an elephant[2] in Kangpokpi. In the month of **Yinga** (May/June), many horses in the market-place were found being pierced with spears by the Koireng Haos. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 27 Friday, they started a building for the *lai* at Kangla. Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Khwai, who was the royal father of Ningthem Charairongpa, died. In the month of **Mera** (September/October), Yipungo the *Nongthonpa* died. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), Aasangpam maiden, the mother of Meetei Reima Ponglen Khonpi, died.

1 *Lai Kasata Nuhongye:* Married to *lai* Kasa. This was dedication to the lai's service.

2 *Samuna hunneiye:* lit. *samuna* by the elephant, *hunneiye* from *hunba* to throw, hence to be thrown about by an elephant. It is unclear if this was a type of punishment or a test with the idea of punishment attached to it or just cruelty. Oral legendary ballad also speaks of Khampa, a commoner who was tied to the leg of an elephant and dragged about, as a lesson not to love a royal princess, Thoipi.

Sakabda 1604 (1682 CE)

The year of Langtem Mayang,[1] **Sakabda 1604 (1682 CE).** In the month of **Yinga** (May/June), as there was a drought, they diverted the water from the river through channels. Ngangpam Cha Kongyampa the *Keirungpa* died. In the month of **Thawan**

(July/August), Takhempa the *Lakpa* of Khwai, the father of Meetei Reima Kha Keithen Thanpi,[2] died. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 17 Monday, Khomma Tari and others left for Mayang to buy elephants. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), one Maring Ngathi from Chungsupa and Khungam of Leima Pokpam died by the ravine at Lamphel after they were bitten by a tiger. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), a man from Sangkhupa Sekpa, from the family of Sekwai, died in Thoupan after a tiger had bitten him. As many people were chasing the beast, one of the sons of the *Sinaipa Hanpa*[3] died as the tiger bit him.

1 Langtem Mayang: a Mayang with a Meetei surname.

2 *Kha Keithen Thanpi:* lit. *Kha* south, *Keithen* market, Thanpi from *thanpa* to light. The light of the market in the south. A title for the queen,

3 *Sinaipa Hanpa: sinaipa* skilled person or craftsman, *hanpa* senior.

Sakabda 1605 (1683 CE)

The year of Yangngampam Koireng, Sakabda 1605 (1683 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), they built the royal great palace. They attacked Lontai right away. They captured thirty-eight people in battle, including Khomareng. They completed all the roads in the villages. The royal great palace was dedicated in **Kalen** (April/May). Ningthem caught a tiger at Heipok. The first day of **Yinga** (May/June) was Saturday. On that day, Yipungo Langte died. In the month of **Langpan** (August/September), Keisam Cha Tingkon the *Nayan Lakpa* and others went to receive two elephants, a male elephant Bapansing and the female elephant Pratika (from Mayang.) A Mayang woman also was amongst them. They arrived on Monday. Ningthem went to feast on the fruit of the lotus flower and green maize in Mangsamkei. Ningthem Paikhompa was victorious over Namphou. In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), Naosom Cha the *Pukhranpa* left to thresh paddy once more. A racing barge was made for each of the institutes.[1] In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), they dug up the main mound at Loklaupung. It took two months. Potsangpa Nawang the *Hanchapa* died.

1 *Loisang Khutingki:* for each of the Institutes. There were many institutes and each of them had an institutional building. Now each of them was granted a racing barge.

Sakabda 1606 (1684 CE)

The year of Keisam Lanhang, Sakabda 1606 (1684 CE). In the two months of **Sachiphu** and **Kalen** (March/April/May), Huitronpa Aarok and Snapa blocked the river at Thingen and then dredged the river's course. In the month of **Langpan** (August/September), they attacked Lontai. Captured fifteen people in battle. Yirom Loinai Ngasingpa and Nukram Monsampa, these two and others exhumed the skulls[1] of all the land. Gold and silver (discovered) were presented to Ningthem. But the big brass plate (which was discovered) was used in making the big drum called Toman Pungchao, by smelting it with copper which they dug up from the earth[2] and the maker was Sang Aangangpa.[3] Sang Aangangpa also asked to form an alliance and attack Samsok together. Wan the builder from Khamaran also arrived. In the month of **Hyangkei** (October/November), Mutum Aachranpa Koirempa[4] died. In the same month, Naosom Cha the *Pukhranpa* was responsible for producing a racing barge made of teak[5] from the region of Nurathempa. All the people from Khari of Kapo were invited (and accepted)

and they were presented with a sword in a silver scabbard, shirts, a crown and a layered canopy.[6] In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), 10 Saturday, in order to discuss the plan of their proposed attack on Samsok, they practised target shooting with guns in Chingkon hills. While they were there the royal great palace caught fire. During the month of **Wakching** (December/January), most of the people were gripped with fear. They were scared even to attend the market (for normal daily necessities). They refrained even from panning for gold (from the river) for two seasons.[7] In that month Yintren the maker of chisels, Usapa the *Khunlakpa*,[8] and Soupam Punsi, the *Hitang* of elephant hands, these three left for Khari to hunt elephants.

1 *Lu touye: Lu* head, *touye* past tense of *touba* to dig up. Dug up the heads, meaning the skulls. Word used for the whole grave is *mang*. The phrase *lu touye* in the light of the recent discoveries definitely points to secondary burial in which the bones are exhumed and then buried in a pot with the skull. Gold and silver death masks containing the skulls have been discovered in Sekta and Cheiraoching hill in the capital. These could be the death masks either of kings or of important people. The Cheiraoching hill discovery includes not just artefacts and domestic utensils made of gold and silver but also gold death masks, gold armlets, earrings, other decorative items, arrows, spearheads and other items yet to be identified, all of great value. In Sekta, apart from the gold burial mask, a communal secondary burial ground where no masks, but only earthen pot ossuaries were used, has also been discovered. The purpose of the digging mentioned here may have the implication of more of a treasure hunt as the finds have been presented to the king. It was not the result of the removal of graves from the city area which was indicated in the entries.

2 *gori tantuna: gori.* The g sound was introduced later and afterwards g and k were used interchangeably. *gori* stands for *kori* copper, *tantuna* from *tanba* to dig up from the earth, meaning which was dug up.

3 *Sang Aangangpa:* probably a corruption of *Shan Aangangpa* and could be of a different group from the Shans in Samsok. Alternative reading: *Shan Aa Ngangpa*.

4 Mutum Aachranpa Koirempa. Alternative reading: *Mutum Aa Chranpa*.

5 *Uningthou:* lit. the king of teaks. The best species of all the teak grown in Manipur.

6 Gifts to Khari of Kapo. This suggests that the chief of Khari was being protected by the king of Manipur or Manipur was re-establishing Khari as a dependent kingdom. Khari was defeated in the time of Kyampa (Sak. 1392–1430) and came under the jurisdiction of the Meetei king.

7 *Sna khenpa: Sna* gold, *khenpa* scribal error for *khonpa* to pan. Panning very likely was done in specific periods because of the water level of the river in the rainy season.

8 *Usapa Khunlakpa: Usapa* carpenter, *Khunlakpa* chief of a village. He was called by his profession, which was a common practice.

Sakabda 1607 (1685 CE)

The year of Nganglom Punsi, Sakabda 1607 (1685 CE). In the month of **Yinga** (May/June), Aachranpa Moirang Mupa died. In the month of **Mera** (September/October), on a Sunday, while there were not many people around, the royal great palace caught fire. Laiyingthou Taipang Khaipa's royal palace also (in Kangla) was deliberately burnt down. Most of the wives[1] (from the palace) were placed at each of the crossroads and the people also were very frightened. Yendrenpa who was the maker of chisels, Soubyam Punsi[2] and Usapa the *Khunlakpa*, who were on their way to hunt elephants in Kapo, halted at Mapa Pung for eight days. They returned on 25 Monday. Tarou Khonton fled. Smallpox broke out in the month of **Wakching** (December/January). In the month

of **Lamta** (February/March), as it was reported that Lamchao the butcher had caught a wild bull, most of the butchers were punished. As Sakonsenpam Chaopa was found touching a woman in Sekwai, her husband killed him. Ningthem was furious and made the husband do the tasks of ten servants.

1 *Matu kheipiksu:* most of the wives. Sentence is very unclear. It could refer either to any woman or women dedicated to the *lai* or the king's wives or any wife. Possible scribal emendation.

2 *Soubyam Punsi.* The previous entry has Soubam in place of Soubyam. Scribal error.

Sakabda 1608 (1686 CE)

The year of Nongpokpam Khompa, Sakabda 1608 (1686 CE). In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), the land of Chajing was inspected. In the month of **Yinga** (May/June), Yirom Loinai Ngasingpa and others from the Aahanlup *(Pana)* attacked Thangthin. They captured twenty people in battle. In the month of **Yingen** (June/July), Huirongpam Moirampa died. In the month of **Thawan** (July/August), as it was reported that the cattle thieves from the village of Tokpa were being surrounded by the Keirois, Ningthem went to repel them. Captured three of the thieves and one was captured later by Lamka, who was collecting firewood. In the month of **Langpan** (August/September), the stone in Kha Keithen, the southern portion of the market, fell down. It fell on a man from Sangkhupa who was from the family of Sengwai. A tiger was caught at Laiyingthou Hanpa. In that month, Lamhanpa, the *Khunlakpa* of Yaiching, died. Two granary keepers at Lamlong granary confronted people stealing paddy and they were killed. The wild elephant from Kapo also died when a nail was driven into its back. In the month of **Mera** (September/October), they began to build a house with a round roof for *(lai)* Panthoipi. It was completed right away. In the month of **Hiyangkei** (October/ November), Hicham Cha the *Nongthonpa* and others left to attack Woksu. They turned back before getting there. In that month, Kanai the male witch[1] from the Tangkhun village was killed at Aahongkei Chatnong. There was a very heavy fall of hailstones in Keiwon for one whole day. The shed where pheasants[2] were kept, and which belonged to the king, collapsed. In the month of **Lamta** (February/ March), they started to build the main royal palace.

1 *Hingchaba:* lit. one who eats living things alive. Term is used for a male witch.

2 *Noiningkhoi:* Pheasant. The feathers were used as a headdress.

Sakabda 1609 (1687 CE)

The year of Chanampam Chaopa, Sakabda 1609 (1687 CE). In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), Loukrakpam Porou produced a boat named Yikhai Chaipa, from the village of Chothe. A tiger was caught at Yipu Luwang. A man from Keirangthong and another from Hannu of Luwang Sangpam died after a tiger had bitten them both. In the two months of **Yinga and Yingen** (May/June/July), *puksri* rats[1] destroyed the paddy crop. Paddy was scarce in that season. Ningthem distributed paddy to all the frail and the suffering[2] sitting in front of the royal gate. In the month of **Thawan** (July/August), Ningthem went down to Thangka to feast on fish. Langmeisonpa the king of Lontai was killed. The month of **Langpan** (August/ September) began on Friday. 5 Tuesday, Thangcham Kasongpa and Kangapa maiden Thoipi, both were punished with death for crimes they had committed. In the month of **Mera** (September/October), Huirongpam

Maram died. Eight tigers were trapped in Langkon. Five were caught with the aid of sharp-pointed bamboo stakes and three were caught in the trap.[3] In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), Sicha and Ningthem along with other royal ladies tortured three tigers with spears in the market-place. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January) all the men from the Loi areas, those who guarded and worked for the granaries and men connected with any institutional buildings, all those from Khuncha and Naicha (Institutes), a total of 504 men without any distinction, were made to establish fourteen kilns (and be responsible for them). Right away bricks were taken out of the kilns. They fired bricks for three whole months. The first day of the month of **Lamta** (February/ March) was Tuesday. 10 Thursday, they built Yumthei (house). The elder sister of Sicha, who was married to Huirongpam family, died. 17 Thursday, they began to build the royal palace, Utra.

1 Puksri: a big white rat.

2 *Aason aana kheipik.* They were the people who were affected by the scarcity of food. No mention of the poor. Normally the Keirungpa distributes the paddy probably because of the communal ownership of the products of the land. First time this phrase is used.

3 *Keisumta: Keisum* an enclosure to trap tigers, *ta* postposition meaning 'in'.

Sakabda 1610 (1688 CE)

The year of Wangkheirakpam Khongchompa, Sakabda 1610 (1688 CE). In the month **of Sachiphu** (March/April) on the first day of the month, Saturday, Ningthem and Sicha went to look for fish. 2 Sunday, fire spread up[1] to the Langmaiching mountain. Right away it was announced that Yenkhom Maitek deliberately started the fire. Saturday, full moon, there was a lunar eclipse. Sunday, new moon, there was a solar eclipse. It was a total eclipse. *Pung*[2] which was withheld from Lamapi (lai)[3] was granted from that day. (The armies of) Kapo and Tumu fled. They were victorious over Nungkon and Aasong. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 14 Tuesday, Ningthoucham maiden Thoipi was engaged to be married to Mangsa the *Rakpa*[4] of Kapo. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. 17 Friday, Yipungo Aachou had his ears pierced. There was a horse epidemic. The barricade which was built round Pharaikon was completed. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 17 Tuesday, Lairikyengpa Lukhoi left for Takhen. As a python was lying across the river at the Paonam anchoring place,[5] it stopped the water from flowing. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), Ningthem Charairongpa's wife the Heiwam maiden died. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), Luwang the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms and others went to seek out and apprehend the people of Nongphou. They captured fourteen people, including Khoiphurang. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 11 Thursday, they built the royal great palace.

1 *Mei kaiye.* Phrase literally means 'the fire went up'. Possibly the fire was started in the foothills and then spread upwards to the mountain.

2 *Pung.* The term *pung* is used to denote both a musical instrument (a drum) and the time. In this context it refers to the musical instrument the *Meetei pung.*

3 Lamapi. Conflation of two words, *lam* place, *mapi* a female who gave birth to, mother, most likely a female ancestral divinity governing a particular area.

4 Mangsa the *Rakpa* of Kapo: *Rakpa/Lakpa,* chief of Kapo.

5 Paonam *Hiten:* an anchoring place on the Imphal river in the north-east of Kangla.

Sakabda 1611 (1689 CE)

The year of Thoukraicham Koireng, Sakabda 1611 (1689 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 10 Wednesday, Sicha who was married to Naosom family gave birth to a child. 11 Thursday, a wooden pillar was erected. Khoiruphurang from Maphou, Keiyanglong from Okphun and Champireng from Lontai, these three and others totalling twelve people were captured in battle. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. 6 Thursday, Sicha Tompi died. 8 Saturday, Khuraileima Lamhanpi died. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. The month of Langpan (August/September) began on Monday. 25 Thursday, Sicha Tompokpi[1] was given the final rites.[2] 26 Friday, Khuraileima was given the final rites. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. Thursday, full moon, there was fighting with swords in Kangpokpi when Khoinai the *Lairenlakpa*[3] touched (sexually assaulted) Leisangthem maiden, wife of *Lai* Taibangkhaipa.[4] Some people were deported to Suknu. It was known that sand was being thrown in[5] at the royal great palace. In the month of **Phairen** (January/ February), Loukrakpam Porou left to receive the beasts from Mayang. Later the *lai's* house which belonged to the ladies of the royal house, the granary for paddy (in the palace complex), Ningthem's official dressing house,[6] Langsang the court house, Aachanpa Institute building, the institute building for those in charge of the palanquin and the house where elephants were kept, all these seven buildings caught fire. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), both Ningthem and Sicha took a trip to the south to look for fish.

1 Sicha Tompokpi: the same person whose death is entered as Sicha Tompi.

2 *Pot loiye:* final rites or acts. This was three months after her death and was not cremation.

3 *Lairenlakpa:* lit. an official in charge of *lairen* or python. Python is the royal emblem of the Meetei kings and is the symbol of the ancestral diety of the Ningthoucha *yek*. Later *Lairenlakpa* or *Lairenlakpam* became a family name.

4 wife of *lai* Taibangkhaipa. Maiden dedicated to the service of the *lai*. Not a temple prostitute.

5 *Yumchaota leicheng hunngamye:* sand was thrown at the great palace. It is a well known expression used to indicate the displeasure of the *lai* in the Meetei culture. Indicates an element of dissatisfaction and displeasure from the subjects.

6 *Sanglangmei:* the house which the king uses for adorning himself in his official attire.

Sakabda 1612 (1690 CE)

The year of Thoukraicham Mupa, Sakabda 1612 (1690 CE). Saturday, the first day of the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), Ningthem returned from the southern region where he went to look for fish. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 29 Monday, Luwang the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms and others promised to help the people of Aanan, Nanphou, Mareepung and Sakang with rice as these four villages faced scarcity of food. They were thus consoled. Right away 150 people were detained and they were settled at Nakappa in Yiharai.[1] The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 6 Monday, Nousom Cha the *Senlungpa*[2] and others opened up a road to Nongphou. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/ November) began on Thursday. 4 Sunday, Hicham Cha the *Nongthonpa* and Naorem Cha the *Pukhranpa*, these two and others left to thresh paddy at Nongphou. They returned on 11 Sunday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 10 Monday, the royal gate was dismantled. 22 Saturday, Ningthem Mayampa was born.[3] 23 Sunday, they performed a

rite of appeasement (before using) the bricks. 24 Monday, they commenced building the royal gate. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 20 Friday, a man from Nongphou and another from Thonlang, who were kept in the *Aaseipa Loisang*[4] and who ran away, were captured. 26 Thursday, they built a barricade at Yiharai Nakappa. They also dug a battle trench. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), both Ningthem and Sicha attacked Noina. Ningthem went to look for fish at Keikhong canal. Then Ningthem and Sicha left to inspect the barricade at Yiharai Nakappa. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 5 Monday, Ningthem and Sicha went up to Urangpai in Leimatak to look for fish. They returned on 19 Sunday.

1 150 people were detained and settled at Nakappa in Yiharai. Not clear who these 150 people were, but most probably they were from the four villages which faced shortage of food.

2 *Senlungpa:* designation of an official, probably originally a keeper of money. Also one who is responsible for the upkeep of the *lai* and the *lai's* shrine.

3 'Ningthem Mayampa' was born. Mayampa was not yet king. This type of entry reflects either a later recording or a change in the editing.

4 *Aaseipa Loisang:* Institute of Music and *Pena*.

Sakabda 1613 (1691 CE)

The year of Santham Lukok, Sakabda 1613 (1691 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 16 Friday, two elephants, a male and a female which had not yet grown tusks, arrived from Takhen. 17 Saturday, Loinai Ngasingpa and others from the Aahanlup *(Pana)* left to attack Masem. They turned back before reaching the place. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 2 Wednesday, Sicha Koirempi was born. 22 Tuesday, Aoinam Pangara and others from the Naharup *(Pana)* left for battle. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 17 Friday, Nousom Cha Luwang the *Senlungpa* and others left to receive the elephant from Aawa. 19 Sunday, those[1] who went to Chairen returned the same day. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 4 Sunday, those[2] who went to Suknu returned the same day. 5 Monday, Nousom Cha Luwangpa, who went to receive the elephants from Aawa, arrived with a male and a female elephant. The month **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), Aangom maiden Leimakhupi Hanjapi was demoted (from the throne). Aoinam Cha the *Senlungpa*, Luwangpa the *Aachoipa Hanchapa*,[3] these two and others from the ten Institutes left for battle. Lamthon and Sakang, these two places were attacked. Nausekpam Pangara died in battle. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. On the full moon Sunday, there was a lunar eclipse. On Monday the new moon, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 24 Wednesday, (the content of) the Kangla shrine was temporarily housed.[4] 25 Thursday, the Kangla building was demolished.

1–2 There is no subject in these two sentences nor is there any indication if it was the king himself who went to these two places.

3 *Aachoipa Hanchapa:* the post *of Hanchapa* in the Aachoipa Institute (Volunteer Militia). First time the term is used.

4 *Kangla Khangpok kumme. Kangla* refers to either the shrine or a building in Kangla. *Khangpok* normally refers to a temporary construction, *kumme* is from verb *kumba* to go down. After Hinduisation the phrase *Khangpok kumme* is used in reference to the dead body

being taken out to a temporary shed before cremation. The phrase here refers to the contents of the shrine which were housed temporarily in a shed.

Sakabda 1614 (1692 CE)

The year of Haoipam Aamu, Sakabda 1614 (1692 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, they began to build Kangla. 21 Tuesday, Langmaithem Langmei, the *Lahpa* of Naharup *(Pana),* died. Three tigers were caught at Heipok. 22 Wednesday, Kangla (building) was inaugurated. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. Mutum Moirampa died. 13 Tuesday, Kangla was dedicated. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. 19 Tuesday, Sicha Khuroi Ngampi was born. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 10 Friday, Luwang the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms died. 18 Saturday, his son Maichou died. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 12 Wednesday, Ningthem and others left to attack Samsok. 21 Friday, Meetei Reima Ponglen Khompi sent Meinam Sekmu with a message to Ningthem and he returned straight away from Kontong. Ningthem rewarded Sekmu for acting courageously by exempting him from all the compulsory duties to the state.[1] The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. 9 Monday, Ningthem returned. 29 Sunday, Lamloi the *Aachoipa Hanchapa* died. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 4 Sunday, Naosom Cha the *Pukhranpa* and Langmaithem Cha the *Lakpa* of Naharup *(Pana)* left to attack Somsok. They captured fifteen people in battle. They also captured shields, swords, *piyong* guns[2] and horses. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), as it was reported that the (people of) Aawa had marched to battle against the land, Naosom Cha the *Pukhranpa,* Langmeithem Cha the *Lakpa* of Naharup *(Pana),* these two and others left to repel the army of Aawa. 15 Saturday, Haopam Cha Koirempa, Laitoncham Tora, these two lost their lives by the river Yingthi (Irrawady river), while repelling the Aawas.

1 *Mathou Kokpiye: Mathou* one's duty owed to the state or king, *Kokpiye* from the verb *kokpa* to be exempted from or to be forgiven. The king had the power to exempt a person from such a duty. *Mathou* was a compulsory duty which was expected from any man by the king. The expected duty covered all forms of service. In the early stages of the formation of the kingdom, *Lanlup* was a community service and was an aspect of the *mathou*. Later *Lanlup* became synonymous with unpaid compulsory labour which was abused when the feudal power of the king increased.

2 *Piyong* guns. Uncertain, but could be a mispronunciation of pistol.

Sakabda 1615 (1693 CE)

The year of Keisam Samu, Sakabda 1615 (1693 CE). The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 14 Wednesday, Aangoupampa Lamphel Ngampa left to thresh paddy at Samsok. As they found Tare Senchao to be steep[1] they made a bridge[2] by piling up stones and crossed the waters. The paddy which had already been threshed was collected, and they stored it in the granary at Mangsa which belonged to Ningthem. They raided and captured two people. They also captured cattle and buffaloes, which were given right away to those who captured them. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 11 Monday, Naosom Cha Kyampa the *Pukhranpa* died. On the same day his wife

Hanjapi also died. Towards the end of the month there was fighting between the Yaisakun Leikai and Tonlang Leikai. As a man from Heichanam family was killed in this fight, all those who were involved were fined. As a last resort[3] they were (also) ordered to raid Somsok. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 24 Monday, *Phamtou* the courtier was chained with an iron chain as he was found cutting trees in the wood which was within the barricaded enclosure.[4] The month of **Mera** (September/ October) began on Friday. 8 Friday, when it was said that a person from the family of Thoitingcham stole cattle, scuffles broke out at Khamlangpa which resulted in death. 9 Saturday, a man from the family of Khongnam was killed at Chakhapa in an affray. While a man from the family of Wangkam was fleeing to Somsok he was captured by Mangsa at Marching hill which resulted in an affray and (Wangkam Cha) was killed. In that season, a large number of people were attacked by tigers. **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. 5 Thursday, Sicha Keithen Thanpi was born. Tharam Kongyampa the *Aachoipa Hanchapa* died. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) was taken to be the month of Wakching[5] and thus people began to plough the field. 23 they dug (a drainage trench) in Kongpa. The palanquin belonging to Ningthem was broken. A man from Thangpi Charou died after a tiger had bitten him at the Lamlong Kongpa junction. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 5 Saturday, Sicha Koirempi had her ears pierced. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February) on the first day of the month, Thursday, they built the royal great palace. 9 Friday, a couple, husband and wife, from the family of Kangpucham, died after a tiger had bitten both of them at the Kangpu ravine. A man from Kumphi who was cutting and collecting grass for cattle at Chingkon was bitten by a tiger, as a result of which he died. 14 Wednesday, the great royal palace was inaugurated. From the month of Phairen till the month of Sachiphu, in these three months, they drew (salt water) from the salt wells (and made salt).[6]

1 Tare Senchao *ngamtuna:* Tare Senchao, place name, *ngamtuna* from *ngamba* to be steep, *tuna,* on account of. The place was found to be steep. Alternative reading, *ngampa,* also could mean to be victorious in a battle or raid. But in this context, it is more likely that the bank of the waters in Tare Senchao was found to be steep.

2 *thong satuna: thong* bridge, *satuna* from *saba* to build. It was not the building of a stone bridge but a temporary solution to cross the water by piling up stones and making a causeway.

3 *Tangaire:* from an infinitive form *tangai leitaba* meaning last resort. The picture is that of making an attempt to bring two rival and quarrelsome neighbouring areas together by sending both to face the common enemy.

4 *pantaki: pan* barricade, *taki* from, from the barricaded area. Implies a sacred area and thus enclosed. Declaration of some sites as sacred also helped towards the conservation of forests and rare trees.

5 *Poinu* was taken to be *Wakching*. The discrepancy may have been due to the Meeteis still keeping their original lunar calendar with the solar calendar. There is also the tradition of the first ploughing in the month of *Poinu* with the arrival of the early rain which is followed by the normal ploughing.

6 Salt well. First time it is mentioned.

Sakabda 1616 (1694 CE)

The year of Nongpokpam Langmee, Sakabda 1616 (1694 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) when it was reported that Hangkun the keeper of the royal wardrobe had stolen a *Phike* cloth,[1] his father was made an appeasement[2] at Kakching and (Hangkun) the son had his nose cut off.[3] The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. 14 Saturday, the Naharup Institute building caught fire. As there was no rain in the month of **Yinga** (May/June), attendants of the *Lai* were made to gather to find out the mind of the *Lai* (in relation to the drought).[4] The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 9 Thursday, Yipungo Aachou the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun died. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. 21 Thursday, Meetei Reima Ponglen Khonpi participated in a boat race. The month of **Hyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday, Ningthem and others left for Somsok to thresh paddy. They captured nine people in battle. Also captured two horses. Many people fled. 18 Friday, they returned. 27 Tuesday, Yirom Cha Chingloi the *Tolairoi Hanchapa*[5] died. The month of **Wakching** (December/ January) began on Friday. 17 Sunday, Lengleng in Sikhong was made to become a tribute-paying area. 19 Tuesday, four tigers were caught at Leewa. 20 Wednesday, Takhen the *Nongthonpa* was killed by the people of Yitok. On that very day, Haopam family house was on fire in the night. The first day of the month of **Phairen** (January/February) Sunday, eight houses belonging to eight (different) families, including the house of Hicham Cha the *Nongthonpa,* caught fire. 13 Friday, they fought against Yitok Lengngen. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 4 Thursday, two tigers were caught at Poura Wamei. 26 Friday was a very windy day and people were forbidden to go to the market. The house belonging to Thangchapa was broken (due to the wind).

1 *Phike:* a silk cloth. It could be for either the king or the queen. Since no mention is made that it was a *phike phanek* (skirt) one can assume that this cloth belonged to the king. The act of stealing implied challenge to the position of the king which provoked the death penalty. But in place of an outright death punishment an appeasement was made to the *lai* who protects the king. The term *phike,* lit. cloth of the *Ke* (people), may have originated from Moirang. Another name for Moirang is Keke (Kege) Moirang. Very likely they were of Eastern origin, where sericulture was well established.

2 *Yiratnaiye.* This term means an appeasement where the object is normally sacrificed. But when the object is a person the actual killing does not take place but part of the body representing the person is taken and offered symbolically. In this rite the person also is required to sit in a particular position for a long time without moving. The very idea that he had been sacrificed symbolically, and being in one position for a length of time, affect him both psychologically and physically. Though still living he is more like a shadow than being alive. The Meetei cosmology also speaks of the five senses and the shadow as making the complete life. In the case of such a person actual death soon follows.

3 *Mapati Yiratnai, machati manaton lenye.* The father was made an appeasement, and *macha,* his son Hangkun the *Keisangpa* had his nose cut off. If it was the son who had actually stolen the cloth, then the punishment of the father is like making the father pay for his son's crime.

4 *Laipu thipa khomkatye.* This sentence could be read more than one way. (a) *Laipu thipa khomkatle: Laipu* of the *lai, thipa* to find out, *Khomkatle* summoned or were made to gather. Meaning 'those who were the *lai*'s attendants were made to gather (to find out the mind of the *lai* in relation to the drought)'. (b) Taking *Puthipa* as the *lai* referred to and also as the

object of the sentence, Lai Puthipa was collected or summoned (in relation to the drought). But to summon the *lai* or divinity would be ambiguous. The first reading is more meaningful and makes sense in a culture where the *lai* attendants were assumed either to know the *lai*'s mind or, if they did not, to be in a position to find out the thoughts of the *lai* in relation to the drought.

5 *Tolairoi Hanchapa:* the person who was the head or in charge of those who were palanquin attendants. Later this post was occupied by a prince. First time this post is mentioned.

Sakabda 1617 (1695 CE)

The year of Haopam Mungyampa, Sakabda 1617 (1695 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 18 Saturday, a tiger was caught at Chingkon. 29 Wednesday, four tigers were caught at Hanching. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 7 Wednesday, they left to attack Yitok. They took Para Kyampa, Thongaipa Takhen and one person from Nongphou Khunou, these three people as prisoners. Fire broke out at Soipam (family house). Five people were burnt. 12 Monday, those who went to attack Yitok, returned. 20 Tuesday, the area of Lamphen Mapan was inspected. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, Moirang Kapompa the *Aachoipa Hanchapa* died. In the month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November), on the first day of the month Sunday, three tigers were lured into an enclosure in Heipok, and they were caught on the 5th. On the full moon Sunday, Yipungo Loyampa was born. 25 Wednesday, Tangkhun Poirou Tongpa arrived with three Yitok women whom he had taken captive. There was a comet. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. Naicharakpam Haopa, Thangcham maiden Tonu, these two were punished with death for crimes they had committed. 8 Sunday, security guard Turen Chongpa was killed at Mongbahanpa grove, as it was said that he had stolen the bag where the treasury[1] was kept. Leitanthempa had his hands cut off. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. On the full moon Tuesday, there was a lunar eclipse. 29 Monday, Ningthem went to shoot common coots at Heiningsoi. On the new moon Tuesday, there was a solar eclipse. Ningthem pardoned those at Leisangkhong who had committed wrongs.[2] The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. 21 Monday, Khangpa the *Aachoipa Hanchapa* died. 29 Thursday, Yipu Luwangsangpa killed Thonlang Hao. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 8 Saturday, Ningthem went to Kyamkei (along with others) to dig a drainage trench (and make a barricade). The digging which started from Singchamei was completed. 10 Monday, Aaroi who hosted (the king and his men) for the *Pana* was appointed eunuch.[3] (Ningthem) spent the night at Thongchu Keinou. They completed the barricade on Saturday. Ningthem left Keinou right away and went to look for fish. He travelled up to Chairen and Thangka. They also dug the river's course for boats. They dug up to Uyumpok in Thingnungkei. 29 Friday, they returned.

1 *Senchao achoipa: senchao* purse or large sums of money in ready cash.

2 *Pap koklamye.* The king may have pardoned those who failed to carry out their state duties. *Pap* a Hindu Sanskritic term for moral or religious offence according to one's caste. First time this term is used.

3 *Pheita semye: Pheita* eunuch, *semye* past tense of *semba* to make, lit. made eunuch. But since there was the Institute of Eunuchs he may have been rewarded for his hospitality by appointing him to a post in the institute and not necessarily made a eunuch. Verb *semye* is also found being used when one is appointed to a post.

Sakabda 1618 (1696 CE)

The year of Yenkhoipam Langmei, Sakabda 1618 (1696 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday, Thingkom Mayang was made a eunuch. 13 Friday, Naosom Aaroi left to make a covenant with the Haos of Yitok. 27 Tuesday, Ningthem left to dig (a drainage trench) in Antro. He returned on 29 Sunday. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 19 Wednesday, Ningthem went down to the homesteads of both Hijam Cha the *Nongthonpa* and Langmaithem Cha the *Pukhranpa* to decide on the boundaries of their homesteads. 20 Thursday, the area of the ascent of the mountain Chapa Chingchin was inspected. The month of Yinga (May/June) began on Sunday. Chingtham Tanglam also was appointed eunuch. 27 Friday, Meetingu Mayampa's mother, Nungthin Chaipi, died. 10 Wednesday, Ningthem went to Phoupakchou to feast on fish. 6 **Thawan** (July/ August) Sunday, Sicha's younger brother Haopam Cha Moirampa had his ears pierced. 13 Sunday, the village of Pampa was established in Khamaran. 18 Friday, they left to attack Nungbi Tingtou. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, Hicham Cha the *Nongthonpa* left for the western region to bring out the racing barge. 17 Friday, Ningthem Charairongpa, while he was in charge of guarding Yaisakun in the plains, attacked the chief village of Chompa Lan Tingtou. Lamtareng was captured by Ningthem Charairongpa and Lamsingpu was captured by Haopam Mayon Ngampa. 24 Friday they returned. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 6 Tuesday, Khongchompa the *Lakpa* of Khwai died. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 28 Thursday, Aaheipam Maitek, Keisam Maitek and Maipa Thyam, these three were killed for stealing and setting houses on fire. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 7 Saturday, Lourempa Sangkhupa the *Hanchapa* and Huitrompa the *Keirungpa*, these two and others left to repel the army of Takhen, who came to attack the land. 12 Thursday, they captured sixteen people, including Natongpai of Takhen. 23 Monday, Aanan Nanphou was caught by those who were brewing beer in Yiharai Nakappa as he was escaping to Kapo, led by the people of Chakparou (and he was taken to the king). The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. 11 Thursday, the royal great palace was set alight. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 11 Saturday, Sicha Ponglen Khompi was pardoned of her offence. 18 Wednesday, two houses, Yingou Sang[1] and the house for weaving royal clothes,[2] caught fire. When the elephant which had not yet grown its tusks was let loose, it went to Yumthei *Lai*. Laitonchampa of Keinou died. 23 Thursday, Man Mayampa was publicly shamed.[3] The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Thursday. 21 Wednesday, two people from the family of Sompem died from being drunk. Two men from Kairang Sangpam were murdered in Thongchao.

1 *Yingou Sang.* Meaning uncertain. The term *Yingo* (short form of *Yipungo*) is used while addressing high officials and Yingou is a derivative of Yingo. *Sang* means house. *Yingou Sang* was probably a club for the officials.

2 *Phisa Sangkai: phisa from phi saba* to weave, *sangkai* royal house. All the king's clothes were woven and this house refers to the house where the royal clothes were woven.

3 *Khungkoinaiye:* past tense of *khungkoipa/ba,* a conflation of two words, *khung,* derived from *khun* village, *koipa* round, in this context to go round. This was a form of punishment where the person was publicly shamed. The culprit was led round the village while a crier walked behind him proclaiming his offence, with the beating of a drum to draw the attention of the public. In the case of women offenders, she was stripped to her waist and the bare parts

painted yellow with tumeric, and her hair shaven. This practice had a deterrent effect on the community.

Sakabda 1619 (1697 CE)

The year of Chanampa Sara, Sakabda 1619 (1697 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, in the morning, an antelope ran down from the north in between the houses. The dog Nasoupi caught it. It was caught in the main graveyard. 5 Wednesday, they began to build a house for Sicha. 23 Sunday, they left to fell a tree for erecting a memorial post. Sunday, new moon, there was a solar eclipse. In the month of Kalen (April/May) on a Monday, a memorial post for Sicha Ponglen Khompi was erected. Seventeen people were killed in battle. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, they began to build the royal great palace for Ningthem. 12 Saturday, they began to build the main royal palace. 24 Thursday, elephant Kopacheng went wild and Likmapam Cha from Yairipok and a woman from Kakching, these two people died as the elephant killed them. 27 Sunday, Yipungo Sameirang died. In the month of **Thawan** (July/August) 25 Monday, they began to build Utra, the main royal palace. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 24 Monday, five Tangkhuns from the Mumlou in the south and Nampra Macha of Sikong along with his son were killed by the elephant Kobacheng (Kopacheng). The month of Mera (September/October) began on Monday. 13 Saturday, the servants of the king who went to bring out the barge returned. 17 Wednesday, they planted out the paddy seedlings in the *Aahong lou*, the field of plenty. Elephant Kopacheng killed Khongchom *Lai.*[1] The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 3 Saturday, the people from Takhen went back. 5 Sunday, they left to capture elephant Kopacheng and returned on 22 Wednesday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 28 Thursday, Meetingu Paikhompa at the age of fifty-three years ascended to heaven.

1 Elephant Kopacheng killed Khongchom *Lai*. Refers either to the destruction of the *lai* or to the *lai's* attendants. The former is more likely, since the scribe normally does not miss out the names and whereabouts of any person killed.

MEETINGU CHARAIRONGPA, SAKABDA 1619–1631 (1697–1709 CE)

Sakabda 1619 (1697 CE)

[The year of Chanampa Sara, Sakabda 1619 (1697 CE).] Meetingu Charairongpa ascended the throne at the age of twenty-five years.[1] 26 Sunday, Yipungo Kongyampa Aakoichamtapa was born.[2] The heads which were buried in all the land of Kangleikap[3] were dug up.[4]

1 As there is no mention of the month when Charairongpa became king, it is probable that he ascended the throne on the death of Paikhompa. There is a scribal insertion at the top of the Ms leaf, 'Charairongpa became king.'

2 26 Sunday: not in chronological order. The following two months after Paikhompa's death have dropped out.

3 *Kangleipak:* scribal correction.
4 The digging up of the heads very likely refers to secondary burial. Paikhompa had died and it is probable that the required period had elapsed and the ritual of *saroi themgatpa* and the secondary burial were being carried out. It is also probable that along with the head of the king some other heads were also dug up.

Sakabda 1620 (1698 CE)

The year of Heichanam Hiyam, Sakabda 1620 (1698 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 12 Monday, Chingcha was inspected. 20 Tuesday, they departed to attack Nungtek. Captured fifty-three people including Nungkareng. In the month of **Kalen** (April/May), on the first day of the month Friday, a memorial mound was erected for Meetingu Paikhompa. 7 Thursday, Ngangpam Cha Mansei the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms left to meet the beast from Mayang. The month of Yinga (May/June) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday, he returned. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. Ningthem Charairongpa participated in a boat race. The month of **Poinu** (November/December), on the first day of the month Tuesday, (the people of) Aachoipa Institute departed to raid. They captured one person. 4 Friday, a stone which had been engraved[1] with most of the constitutional laws and regulations of the land[2] and all that was expected from the subjects was discovered as having been erected in front of the shrine of *lai* Kasa. 7 Monday, ten people including Ningthem had a hockey match against 100 people. The ten people won and the 100 had to provide a buffalo.[3] 14 Monday, Ningthem went to hunt wild cattle at Yairipok. He returned on 16 Wednesday and they feasted on the meat at Kangla. 19 Saturday, Mayanglempa, the servant of Nongpok Ningthou wronged Haopam Mayon Ngampa and the servant was punished with death. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, people from Aahanlup, including Naosom Cha the *Senlungpa* the *Maichou*,[4] departed for battle. They captured twenty-two people in battle. 26 Sunday, Sija Khuraileima Mayampi was born while her mother was on the throne.[5] In that season, stones were carried down by the current of the river. They were collected at Tenkei Kha and arranged on the mountain range in the shape of a bowl used in bathing.[6] 27 Wednesday, they began to build Panthoipi's shrine. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday. 20 Friday, they started to build the royal main palace. 25 Wednesday, when the people tried to slaughter a mithan in order to host a feast, the beast fled. Ningthem, who was playing hockey, stopped playing and went after the beast right away. The bull killed Kaitem Chakha. There was a solar eclipse on Monday, new moon.

1 *Nungta lairik yituna yunglamye: Nungta* on a stone, *lairik yituna* written or engraved, *yungba* to erect, *yunglamye* (past tense).
2 *Wayen thouta:* the constitutional rules and regulations used in the administration of the pre-Charairongpa period.
3 a buffalo. The buffalo was for a feast and the side which lost in the game had to supply it.
4 *Maichou:* a Meetei scholar in the service of the king. First time this term is used. He was also the *Senlungpa.*
5 *Phampanta:* while on the throne. As the wives of the kings were on the throne in turn according to the king's pleasure, the implication is that the princess was born while the mother was the principal queen.

6 *tengkot yirusentuna.* Conflation of *tenkot* bowl, *iru* from *iruba* to bath, *sen* brass, *tuna* for *touna* like, in the shape of. *Irusen* is a brass bowl shaped like a pudding bowl and is used in bathing to throw water on the body.

Sakabda 1621 (1699 CE)

The year of Sairom Mansei, Sakabda 1621 (1699 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. Loukhampam Para died at the entrance to Minu bridge. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. In the month of **Yinga** (May/June), 9 Saturday, three tigers were caught at Kangpucham stream. They also caught another tiger whose tail and ears had been cut off and which also had no teeth, inside the house of Yensenpam, and it was presented (to the king).[1] 20 Wednesday, Ningthem went down to Wangkhei Lamma and consulted for an oracle.[2] Death took place in one day.[3] There was a smallpox epidemic in that month. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 23 Monday, the *Lai*,[4] Ningthem, Sicha (his wife), Sicha his daughter, all the nobles and the brave left on a raft for Leisangkhong to feast on fruit. As the rafts could not go through under the bridge, they broke down the three bridges at Sagolthong, Heinou and Sanchenthong. 25 Wednesday, as the Chakpi river swelled and overflowed, the houses at Suknu were underwater. One person died. Many household items, including wooden mortars for pounding paddy and winnowing baskets, which were carried away were collected by the people of Chairen. The flood spread up to Phoukakchau. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. They went to Yithai to feast on fish. 23 Wednesday, they went to Yithai to feast on the seeds of lotus flowers. The people of Chairen Kamu and Kampi fled. 26 Saturday, Nongthin Chaipa of Moirang died. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 4 Sunday, an elephant arrived from Takhen. 21 Wednesday, they began to dig a canal named Prasat Matompa at Khrapan. The month of **Hyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, Pukhranpam Pangan[5] was pursued up to Kouparen and then killed. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 6 Friday, Tari the *Hanchapa* of the smiths made a mould to cast an image of Panthoipi.[6] 11 Wednesday, the image was cast. 20 Friday, the people of Aahanlup and Naharup *(Panas)* left for battle. Aahanlup *(Pana)* attacked the village of Mungpi and they captured thirteen people. Keithenlakpam Khampa who was listed as missing, arrived after five days, carrying all the decomposing heads which had been taken as a war trophy on his back. Naharup *(Pana)* attacked Sakang Lamkang and captured two people in battle. 29 Sunday, as Ningthem went out to witness ceremonies blood was shed.[7] The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. Aahanlup and Naharup *(Panas)* who went to battle returned. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 4 Friday, the people in the area of Sumai were threshed like the winnowing of grain in a winnowing basket. 12 Sunday, they looked for fish at Kongpa. 13 Monday, the people of Thongphei fled. 17 Friday, eunuch Mansei was killed at Marching. The month of Lamta (February/March) began on Friday. 11 Tuesday, they herded the beasts from Haokei. On Friday, full moon, they began to build the royal building Utra. Hicham Cha the *Nongthonpa* died. 22 Friday, Mansei the *Hanchapa* of the elephant hands, died.

1 *Pharakye:* from the verb *Phaba* to capture or catch. Suffix *rakye* implies that the object was brought back after being captured.

2 *Laiwa hanglouye. Laiwa* literally means the words of the *lai*, or oracle. *Hanglouye* from *Hangba* to ask, a past continuous form. It refers to the oracle from the *lai.* Unfavourable oracles could be placated. The same term is also used for sorcery or spell.

3 *nongmata siye:* died in one day or on the same day. This sentence is very cryptic. It does not give any indication of who or how the person died. Because of the previous sentence 'asked for *laiwa*' it is probable that *laiwa* in this context meant witchcraft and the death hinted at its effectiveness. If it was an oracle, then no appeasement could evade the result. But it seems unlikely that the *Ch.K.* would mention the king engaging in witchcraft, as he could have executed the person anyway.

4 the *Lai,* Ningthem, Sicha…: the inclusion of the *lai* in this outing is unusual and was perhaps a new introduction as in the boat race where the *lai* was represented. The conception of the *lai* is becoming more anthropomorphic.

5 Pukhranpam Pangan: a Muslim who had been assimilated into the Meetei society with a Meetei surname Pukhranpam.

6 Panthoipiki *murti: murti,* a Sanskrit term for image. This was the first record that an image of a Meetei ancestral divinity was cast. The Meeteis did not have any images, nor were they idol worshippers.

7 *Yi tai: yi* blood, *tai* from the verb *taba* to fall. Blood was shed. Such entries indicated the opinion of the subjects when the king's actions were not favoured and was a sign of warning that there will be bloodshed.

Sakabda 1622 (1700 CE)

The year of Ningonpam Maichou, Sakabda 1622 (1700 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 11 Tuesday, Ningthem and others left to attack the three villages of Masem, Penlan and Meirao. Koirempa of Suknu was killed in the raid. They captured seventy-three people in battle. 22 Saturday, they came back. In the month of **Kalen** (April/May) on the first day of the month Monday, there was a very strong wind. 5 Friday, the area of Chingnganglen was inspected. 21 Sunday, rice and other edible items were taken[1] for the Soipam maiden who was the wife of *lai* Nongsapa. She was married (to the *lai*) on the same day. 27 Saturday, they completed the barricade in both the upper and lower sections of Kyamkei. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 4 Friday, they began to cast an image of Laiwa Haipa. 11 Friday, Maimu of Suknu captured a man from Masem Hao. He was given to the elephant to be thrown about in the market. 16 Wednesday, the shrine for Panthoipi was inaugurated. 17 Thursday, the army led by Ngangngom returned after taking the inhabitants of Yangtak as captives. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday. On Thursday full moon (the king) reserved the area in Khomyan where the main barricade was to be built. In that season, no trout was eaten because it was rumoured that *lai* was in the stomach of the fish.[2] There was no rain either. 23 Friday, they left to raid Sotpom. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 4 Tuesday, they went to Leisangkhong to borrow a boat. 6 Thursday, those who went to round up (the inhabitants of) Sotpom returned. 9 Sunday, most of the Haos from the eastern area were made to pledge to become blood brothers[3] with most of the Meetei men in high positions. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. 10 Tuesday, Pungkai Laicha and others who went to Aawa returned. 16 Monday, the Luhuppas and the Tangkhuns fought in (the area of) Waiton paddy field. The *Maichou,* who was adopted by the Aoinam (family) was appointed eunuch. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. 6

Sunday, Chingpan Leima Sna Aaton was married. The southern part of the market was barricaded. The inhabitants of the *Sangsang* building[4] were evicted and the area was incorporated to the market. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 24 Friday, Ningthem and Sicha along with all those who were associated with the granaries in the southern region went to look out for possible places to raid. The month of **Poinu** (November/ December) began on Thursday. 24 Sunday, they returned. In that month, the Aahanlup and Naharup *(Panas)* along with some others who were selected from the Aachoipa (Institute) left to bring the racing barge. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 23 Sunday, the servant of the king of Purum fled. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 8 Monday, (those who went to bring the racing barge) returned. 11 Thursday, (the people of) Maram attacked Waikok. They also burnt the place down. They killed five Meetei villagers and forty-seven people from Waikok. 26 Friday, they built a barricade in both Yiharai and Waikok. They also dug a trench. Yirom Ngasingpa and others went to Chothe to bring two racing barges which had curved sterns. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Tuesday. 5 Saturday, all the people who were at Chakpa and Sekwai were summoned up in order to settle them in Yiharai. Tuesday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. All the Haos of Nungsai were made to settle in Namlon where Chothe (tribe) lived.

1 *Chengluk pui: cheng* rice, *luk* edible, *pui* to take. Normally baskets of rice and other edible items are taken by the bride to the groom's house when she is married. In this case, as the *lai* is not human, the marriage procedure and the reference to her as the *lai's* wife indicate that the lady was dedicated to the *lai* as the *lai* attendant.

2 The *lai* was in the stomach of the fish. Probable understanding of this sentence may be that what was offered to the *lai* in the form of silver and gold pieces in *Khayom*, which were always cast into the water, was perhaps swallowed by the fish. Or perhaps unusual objects were found inside the stomach of the fish and hence the people were warned.

3 *Matao.* The term indicates two males taking an oath to becoming blood brothers. Once such a pledge is made nothing could break it up and even the giving of one's life for the sake of the other is expected. Similar custom existed amongst the females *(mata).*

4 *Sangsang:* dormitory for young people. Amongst the Naga and Kuki groups of Manipur there are group dormitories for both boys and girls under the supervision of the headman and his wife. Term is also used of a rest house for travellers.

Sakabda 1623 (1701 CE)

The year of Haowaipam Lanhang, Sakabda 1623 (1701 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 8 Thursday, Yirom Ngasingpa who went to bring the racing barge, returned. 15 Thursday, the building for the *lai* (in) Kangla commenced. 22 Thursday, (the building in) Kangla was inaugurated. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 29 Thursday, Aahongpung, the mound of plenty, was erected. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 10 Tuesday, as it was said that the people from Thoupan beat the eunuch, all the people who lived in Thoupan were fined. 23 Monday, Ningthem went to Thangka in search of treasure. He looked for fish also. 26 Thursday, he returned. Tuesday the first day of the month of **Yingen** (June/July), Ningthem went to Chairen and returned the same day. A man from the family of Aangom died while they were changing boats (while still on the water). The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on

Saturday. 8 Saturday, Haopam Cha Mayon Ngampa had his ears pierced. 11 Tuesday, many people including goldsmith Honglai raided Mishring.[1] 17 Monday, Ngangpam Cha the *Nongthonpa* and others left for Leimatak to bring the racing barge. 22 Thursday, the people of Naharup *(Pana)* who went to battle returned. They captured twenty-one people. 24 Monday, some people left to raid Yisa in Hitam hills. 28 Friday, they dammed up the river at Kongpa Thingen. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/ November) began on Monday. As it was reported that there was a heavy hailstorm, Ningthem went around on horseback to inspect the paddy harvests in many areas, returning straight away from every inspection, on the same day. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 7 Tuesday, Aangom maiden Leimakhupi died. 19 Sunday, Panthoipi's shrine was set alight.[2] 20 Monday, Yumthei *lai* (shrine) was set alight. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. On the new moon Friday, the royal great palace was on fire. Thonglen in Sakonthong, Kalika (Kalika's shrine), Mangkan Institute (building), six houses in all, were set alight. One of the ladies in the royal household, Sakaisu, and two of her servants were burnt to death. Khagokpam Koireng, Merai Ngangpa, Aangom Lanhang and Pangan Sakom, these four started the fire by lighting the eaves of the royal great palace. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday, they began to build a small, straight and tall palace. A man from Mangsamkei died after a tree had fallen on him. There was also an earth tremor. Saturday, full moon, Naosom Cha Aaroi the *Pukhranpa* and others who tried to put Yipungo Loiyampa[3] on the throne, and who started the fire at the royal great palace for the same purpose, were punished. In the evening, Naosom Cha Aaroi was hanged by the rope at Kouparen. His son the *Maichou*[4] was executed at Marching hills. The whole household were slaughtered. A total of thirty-one people were punished with death. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 19 Friday, some people departed for Aawa. 21 Sunday, Sicha Keithen Thanpi had her ears pierced. 26 Friday, the main royal palace was inaugurated.

1 Mishring: place name. First time sh is used in the text.

2 *Panthoipiki sang mei houye:* Panthoipi's shrine was set alight. *Mei* fire, *houye* past tense of *houba* to begin. The phrase *mei houba* is used when one kindles the fire either from live charcoal or from striking a match. When it refers to simply being burnt, the term used is *chakpa* to burn. The term *houye* indicates the fire is usually caused by a human agent. Since the arsonists who were subsequently executed wished to put a rival prince on the throne, it is clear they objected to Charairongpa's religious policy.

3 A prince as well as the *Pukhranpa* with a large number of followers, including a Muslim, tried to dethrone the king. The mention of a Meetei Muslim (Pangan) amongst the group is indicative as Muslims are not idolatrous and hence joined the objection against the king's introduction of idols through the Meetei divinities, the *lais*.

4 *Maichou:* palace scribes who were advisers to the king. Alternatively, a proper noun.

Sakabda 1624 (1702 CE)

The year of Aarampam Khunchan, Sakabda 1624 (1702 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. Aahanlup *(Pana)* raided Sanchikrum. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 3 Saturday, Meetei Reima Keithen Thanpi was married. All the daughters of the Khuman clan made a toast with *yu*. 23 Friday, Naharup *(Pana)* went to battle. Many people were captured. 24 Saturday, Maipa Heiwam Cha the *Hitang*, two people from the Aachoipa (Institute) and others left to raid

Tusuk. They returned without getting to the place. ried to the Ngangpam family, died. 21 Friday, they began to build the shrine for Laiwa The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. 9 Sunday, Sicha, who was mar-Haipa. The month of **Yingen** (June/July)[1] began on Monday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. The month of Mera (September/October) began on Friday. 25 Monday, many people, including Haopam Cha the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms, left to raid Tingtou. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, those who went to raid Tingtou returned. They captured twenty-one people. 8 Saturday, Potsangpa the keeper of the royal wardrobe left to raid Aanan. He captured one woman. 24 Monday, Ningthem went to Leitang to look for fish. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. 27 Saturday, Ningthem's blood was shed when he avenged.[2] The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. On that day the envoy from Aawa arrived to ask for the hand of a princess in marriage. 7 Wednesday, Ningthem went to Kongpa for three days to look for fish. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March), on the first day of the month, all the cattle from Haokhei were captured. 6 Wednesday, (Ningthem) went to Yikong to look for fish. 10 Sunday, he returned. 24 Sunday, Ningthem went to the southern region to look for fish. 26 Tuesday, Ningthem went to Keikhong to look for fish. 26 Tuesday, Ningthem went to Khamaram to look for fish. He went as far as the foothills of Tingto mountain.

1 Presumably an intercalary month.

2 Ningthem *Lamkhumki yi taiye.* Unclear and cryptic. *Yi taye,* past tense of *yi taba* to shed blood. *Lamkhum,* a short form of *laman khumba* to avenge. *Ki* (postposition) indicates that the blood was shed as Ningthem took revenge.

Sakabda 1625 (1703 CE)

The year of Khumancham Moirampa, Sakabda 1625 (1703 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 10 Tuesday, Ningthem returned from his fishing trip in the southern region. 17 Tuesday, Maisna Aachranpa and others from the Aahanlup *(Pana)* left to raid Tusuk. A man from the family of Maisnam died. 25 Wednesday, they returned. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. On the full moon Monday, they inaugurated the Aahanlup Institute building. 20 Saturday, they inaugurated the Naharup Institute building. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. The month of Yingen (June/July) began on Friday. The month **of Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 21 Wednesday, Ningthem went to Yirong on a raft to feast on mangoes. The month of **Langpan** (August/ September) began on Monday. On the full moon Monday, Wayenpa the *Senlungpa* and others left to raid Lontai. Khongsangpa from Chairen died in the raid. They captured eight people. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 23 Saturday, Sicha Nongthonpi (wife of the Nongthonpa), died. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 17 Tuesday, in the forest of Chakhapa, Ningthem shot a tiger which was climbing a tree with his arrow and it was caught (alive). The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 10 Wednesday, they began to construct the great palace for Ningthem. It had a wooden ceiling.[1] 27 Saturday, it was known throughout the market that a person had been murdered in the boat. All the people were summoned, with the firing of a gun used as the signal. All of them were allowed to return. The month of **Lamta** (February/March)

began on a Wednesday. 13 Monday, Maisnam Aachranpa and others from the Aahanlup *(Pana)* raided Sompung. They captured two people.

1 *Ukakna kupye:* it was roofed with *ukak,* planks or logs. A wooden ceiling is more likely, as a wooden roof would be unsuitable in the rainy season.

Sakabda 1626 (1704 CE)

The year of Moirang Kongyampa, Sakabda 1626 (1704 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday, Ningthem Charairongpa and all those who were to accept the name of a Hindu *lai*[1] fasted. Those (who fasted with the king) were made to accept[2] the Hindu *lai* on that day. Ningthem went to hunt elephants at Karongthen. They did not catch any. 11 Tuesday, Moirengchampa the *Hanchapa* of Potsangpa (Institute),[3] who left to receive one male and one female elephant from Aawa, arrived. 20 Thursday, the emissary from Aawa was received at court (by the king). A mendicant teacher[4] and others, totalling twenty-two people, arrived. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 16 Tuesday, they erected the mound of Aahongpung. 23 people from Aanan Hao were captured. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 11 Monday, they raided the village of Urup. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 16 Friday, they inaugurated the shrine of Laiwa Haipa. On the new moon Thursday, there was a solar eclipse. Ningthem went down to the area of Kontha and right away allotted (various) tasks to the people. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. On the full moon Thursday, Haopam Cha Moirampa the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms, who was Sicha's younger brother, died. 23 Friday, Lourempam maiden, the Aawa Leima, left (for Aawa). 25 Sunday, Ningthem went to build a dam at Waithou. 28 Wednesday, Ningthem went to Yikop to shoot common coot. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 7 Friday, they left to raid Aanan. They returned without getting there. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. 6 Friday, they went to seek out and apprehend Aanan in order to raid the place. 26 Friday, they began to build the main royal palace. It was a three-storey building. It was roofed with bell metal in place of thatch. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Thursday. On the new moon Friday, they began to build Utra.

1 *Laiming loupa: Laiming,* name of a *lai* (divinity), *loupa* to take, to accept. Phrase 'to take the name of a *lai*' here means to accept the Hindu religion. This is the first mention of *Laiming loupa,* but there is no reference as to who initiated this rite. Two weeks after this entry, the arrival of a mendicant teacher with a crowd of his followers is recorded.

2 *Louhanye.* From verb *loupa/ba* to take, to accept. *ye* indicates past tense, *han* an imperative form.

3 *Potsangpa:* to guard, Potsangpa Institute, security office.

4 *Gosai muni wa haipa: Gosai,* Bengali term for a Vaisanaba guru, *muni* mendicant; *wa haipa: wa* words, *haipa* to say, one who taught.

Sakabda 1627 (1705 CE)

The year of Nongchenpam Khomma, Sakabda 1627 (1705 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 21 Wednesday, the main royal palace was

inaugurated. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 29 Thursday, the plinth for Panthoipi market was constructed. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 27 Sunday, Pamon Kamteba and Chantra Sekhor, these two, who went to Takhen, returned. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 24 Sunday, Ningthem left for Kyampathen plateau to hunt elephants. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 10 Tuesday, eight thieves were (escorted) up to Chingnunghut (tunnel)[1] and then were sent on along the course of the river. 13 Friday, Yipungsi Aahan and Haopam maiden had (their) blood spilt.[2] The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, Haorengpa Langchang the *Keirungpa* went to seek out and apprehend the Tangkhuns. Thursday, the first day of the month of **Wakching** (December/January), Ningthem went to Soichep to allocate an area for housing. 16 Friday, a female entertainer from Aawa brought a round drum which had eleven sections. 17 Friday, the river in the area of Khurai was dredged. 19 Sunday, they left to dig a drainage trench in Soichep. 10 Saturday of **Phairen** (January/February), a cane bridge[3] was made by a woman of Aawa and one could dance on it. Aaringnang, the guard of the boathouse, also danced on the cane (bridge). They also went to divide up and raid Penlan village. 17 Saturday, they left to raid Nungkhan Khukhaipa. Aakhupa the *Senlungpa* and Ngangpam Cha Lamloi, these two and others also joined the raid. 18 Sunday, the woman from Aawa went back. 19 Monday, they completed the dredging of one of the rivers at Khurai. While dredging the river a white python with horns entered the palace.[4] The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 17 Monday, Yirom Langmee Linaipa came and challenged Naharum, the king's guard, that he could build the great palace without an axe or *thangchou*[5] but only with his bare hands. He did build an eight-room great palace and it had low sweeping eaves. The royal guard from Naharup *(Pana)* had to pay (the builder) two servants (because of the wager). (The winner) was exempted from all compulsory duty (to the king) for three years.

1 *Chingnunghut:* lit. a tunnel through the mountains. The old footpath from Manipur over the mountain ranges to the Cachar border was called *Tongcheimarin,* lit. the tunnel through the pipe used in pot smoking. Very likely these thieves were deported and made to take the path through the mountains following the course of the river.

2 *yi tai.* Sometimes the phrase is also used to refer to an issue being born. However, since the term used to refer to the birth of a child up to this point in the *Ch.K.* is *pokpa* (to be born), *yi taba* refers to blood which was shed.

3 Cane bridge: first time a cane bridge is mentioned.

4 *Lairen angoupa machi panpa:* white python with horns. Pythons were regarded as the ancestral emblem of the Meetei Ningthoucha kings. 'Python with horns' is one of the many forms of the python.

5 *Thangchou: Thang* either a knife or a sword, *chou* from *chaoba* meaning big. *Thangchou:* an all-purpose big knife like a *dao,* different from the sword which is also called *thang* or *thangsang* (long sword).

Sakabda 1628 (1706 CE)

The year of Aasangpam Aaroi, Sakabda 1628 (1706 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 28 Sunday, the land of Chothe was inspected. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. The month of **Yinga** (May/ June) began

on Thursday. 24 Saturday, two tigers entered (a barricade) in Chingkon. One was caught right away but the other was caught later, in one day. On the new moon Thursday, another tiger was caught in a trap made of pointed bamboo spikes.[1] The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday.[2] A tiger was caught at Haotan. A person from the family of Konsam died after being bitten by a tiger. 19 Tuesday, a builder who knew how to build temples[3] arrived from Aawa. 29 Tuesday, they began to build the temple for Kalika.[4] The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 11 Wednesday, a tiger was caught at Kontha. Thursday, the first day of the month of **Thawan** (July/August), a tiger was caught at Chingkon. 22 Sunday, a tiger was caught on the plains by Langmaiching mountain. The month of **Langpan** (August/ September) began on Tuesday. 9 Wednesday, as a tiger entered the prison Ngairong caught it and it was presented (to the king).[5] 14 Monday, another tiger was caught at Kameng prison and it was also presented (to the king). 23 Wednesday, a tiger was caught at Phumang. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 11 Tuesday, Ningthem Mayampa's eldest daughter Sicha Aahan was born while he was living in the *Tampak (yum)*,[6] the residence of the crown prince. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. 10 Wednesday, Ningthem and Sicha went to Yikop on a raft to look for fish. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 17 Friday, the palace was repaired with brick and timber. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 16 Saturday, Santhinpa the *Senlungpa* and others went to raid Penlan. 25 Monday, they returned.

1 *Soukap:* pointed wooden spikes which were buried in a ditch and then concealed to trap predators.

2 Yinga (May/June) has two different entries, beginning on different days. Either scribal oversight or possibly insertion of an extra month to reconcile the lunar and solar calendar dating.

3 *Kyong:* refers to temple constructed in the Burmese style with round domes. First time kiyong is mentioned.

4 *Kalika:* another name for Kali. With the importation of Kali, a temple style building had also been introduced.

5 Every tiger caught also carried a prize from the king.

6 *Tampakta leingeita:* While staying at Tampak. *Tampakta,* a short form of *Tampak yumta*. *Tampak yum* applies to both the crown prince's residence and the family house of the reigning queen. *Tampak* also means the plains. It was also the custom of any husband to stay either for a short period or permanently, if he so desired, in the parental home of his wife.

Sakabda 1629 (1707 CE)

The year of Bamon Mani,[1] **Sakabda 1629 (1706 CE).** The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. Many monkeys were caught at Chingpa. 3 Tuesday, the monkeys escaped. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 19 Friday, they began to build Bishnu's temple.[2] The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 13 Monday, the building of temples dates from this time.[3] The month of Yingen (June/July) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, they began to build Kalika's temple. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, (the king) went to Suknu and returned on the same day. 17 Saturday, (the king) went to feast on fish at Thangka. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. 16 Monday, Thangcham

maiden gave birth to Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei. 22 Sunday, as a tiger entered the prison at Ngariyan it was caught and it was presented (to the king). 24 Tuesday, Ningthem went to Wangu to hunt and caught thirty beasts. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. 13 Wednesday, Ningthem caught nine male pigs in (the region of) Aachanpikei. On the full moon Tuesday, there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/ November) began on Wednesday. 5 Sunday, they went to raid Nungkhan in the name of the king's royal mother.[4] On the full moon Thursday, the *Keirungpa* of the goldsmiths and others went to divide up and raid Aasong village. In the month of **Poinu** (November/December), on the first day of the month Friday, a three-tiered royal house for the *lai*[5] *was* built. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 13 Saturday, Ngangpam Cha Lamloi and others went to raid Tusuk. Khetri was killed. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. It was said that there would be a lunar eclipse on Tuesday, the full moon. But it did not take place.

1 *Bamon:* for *Pamon*, Meetei brahmin. P and B used interchangeably.

2 Bishnu for Vishnu. The scribe has used original *Meetei Mayek* letters, and so has b for v; sh has been introduced, and n has been indicated as nasal for the first time. First time the term Vishnu has been used.

3 1629 Sak. 'Yinga (May/June), 13 Monday, the building of kiyong dates from this time.' The chronicler is emphasising the period when kiyongs or temple buildings began in a very clear sentence. The Bishnu temple referred to here very likely is the temple at Bishnupur, the place name being derived from the temple. This refutes the view of the Hinduisers of the early date (fifteenth century CE) of the temple of Bishnu in Bishnupur.

4 This is unusual. But it may have been to reinstate her position as the queen mother or simply to honour her.

5 *Laiki sangkai:* house for the *lai*. The term *sangkai*, meaning house or dwelling place, is used to convey respect and the high position of the occupier.

Sakabda 1630 (1708 CE)

The year of Heisnam Aaton, Sakabda 1630 (1708 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April), on the first day of the month Friday, they began to build a temporary house for the queen mother. 7 Thursday, Ningthem went down to Thangka to feast on fish. 9 Saturday, Ngangpam Cha Mansei the *Nongthonpa* died. 20 Wednesday, Chongtham Yentrenpa went to select a tree and cut it for a post. 23 Saturday, a tiger was caught at Ningchatwa. On another day, a tiger was also caught at Chingkon. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 7 Friday, the wooden post arrived. 10 Monday, the wooden post was erected. Sicha Ngaikhong Ngampi dedicated the wooden post. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 10 Wednesday, they began to make a wooden post for Panthoipi. 12 Friday, Kalika's temple was inaugurated. 14 Sunday, the building with a three-tiered roof for (the) *lai* (in) Kangla was inaugurated. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday, Kalika's temple collapsed. Three men were trapped. One died but the other two survived. 4 Friday, the temple architect from Aawa went back. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. The month of **Langban**[1] (August/September) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, Chingakhanpa who was skilled in the art of sorcery died. 29 Thursday, Sarotkhaipa Aapongpa left to fell trees at Snayal for making racing barges, On the new moon Friday, Pamon Lokhon who went to Aawa returned. There was a solar eclipse on that day. The month of **Hyangkei**

(October/November) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday, Sija Ngaikhong Ngampi placed a coffin[2] at Santangkhong in Wangu. 9 Monday, Ningthem and Sicha went there. 11 Wednesday, (they) placed (another) coffin there.[3] 14 Saturday, Ningthem returned. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 11 Friday, all the houses which were causing overcrowding in the housing area were made to move. The graves were also removed. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, a tiger was caught at Langmaichakhong canal. 9 Friday, Ningthem caught a leopard from a tree with his bare hands at Kairangpokpi in Khompitok. The month of **Phairen** (January/ February) began on Friday. A three-tiered-roof building for the *lai* (in) Kangla was inaugurated. 11 Wednesday, they began to build the royal great palace.

1 The month of *Langban:* Note the use of b in place of p, *Langpan*.

2–3 *Kai khinye:* placed a coffin: *kai* coffin, *khinye* past tense *of khinba* to place. The meaning of the placing of the coffin is unclear, possibly a case of sorcery.

Sakabda 1631 (1709 CE)

The year of Thoukraicham Khunngam, Sakabda 1631 (1709 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 7 Tuesday, Ningthem left to raid Tusuk. Khetri captured fifteen people in battle. Taoriya from Yoiren and the Kapo brewer, both died of being drunk. 17 Friday, Ningthem returned. 28 Tuesday, the *Keirungpa* of the goldsmiths went to raid Senchao. He returned without getting there. 29 Wednesday, Ningthem and Sicha went to inspect Serou. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 4 Tuesday, Ningthem returned. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 8 Sunday, the royal house for Laiwa Haipa was inaugurated. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 7 Sunday, Meetingu Charairongpa ascended to the heavens. He reigned on the throne for thirteen years and was thirty-seven years old when he died. 20 Friday, a tiger was caught in the courtyard of Sicha Sanarokpi.

MEETINGU MAYAMPA (ALIAS GARIBNIWAZ), SAKABDA 1631–1670 (1709–1748 CE)

Sakabda 1631 (1709 CE)

[The year of Thoukraicham Khunngam, Sakabda 1631 (1709 CE).] The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 23 Wednesday, Meetingu Mayampa ascended the throne at the age of twenty years. The month of **Langpan** (August/ September) began on Wednesday. 13 Monday, Sanlam Aapang was fined. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. The month of **Hyangkei** (October/ November) began on Saturday. 4 Tuesday, the queen's son-in-law Haopam Cha Aakong the *Senlungpa* and others attacked Khutlai. 12 Thursday, they returned. They captured twenty people in battle. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 13 Sunday, a black tiger was caught in the bamboo enclosure[1] which the Aangoms made. The *Sinaihanpa's*[2] younger brother died as the tiger bit him. One person from Thangcham family was also bitten by a tiger. The month of **Phairen** (January/ February) began on Thursday.

Thursday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. The month of Lamta (February/March) began on Saturday. 21 Friday, a memorial mound was erected for Ningthem Charairongpa. The wind was fierce on that day. Many trees and bamboos were uprooted. Two people who were carrying cooked rice were injured by the falling trees.

1 *Soupon:* bamboo enclosure for trapping animals.

2 *Sinaihanpa:* same as *Sinaipa Hanpa* a senior skilled person.

Sakabda 1632 (1710 CE)

The year of Thoutam Khongchon, Sakabda 1632 (1710 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 5 Friday, they began to build the main royal palace. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 5 Saturday, Ningthem and Sicha inspected the land in Yiharai. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 3 Saturday, Ningthem and Sicha sitting in front of the Khunchaosang[1] building distributed paddy to the frail and the suffering. 17 Friday, the main royal palace was inaugurated. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. Seven people including Yirom Ngasingpa, the servant from the Loi area, and others were all fined for using witchcraft[2] against Sicha, the Meeteileima. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 16 Monday, there was a landslide at Chingmei (hill). 26 Thursday, Ningthem and Sicha went to Patsoi to feast on lotus seeds.[3] The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Monday. The queen's son-in-law the *Senlungpa* and others left to wage war on Woklu. 19 Friday, Sicha Tampak gave birth to Sicha Aaton. The month of **Mera** (September/ October) began on Wednesday. 9 Thursday, Lourenpa the *Senlungpa* and others with the Naharup *(Pana)* left to wage war on Nungkhan Maseng. 25 Saturday, they returned. Captured sixteen people. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. The month of **Poinu** (November)/December) began on Friday. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. A stone was placed for a monument at Leisangkhong for Laiwa Haipa. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. On the full moon Monday there was a lunar eclipse. It was a full eclipse. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 24 Sunday, the *lai* in Kangla was taken out to a temporary hut.

1 *Khunchaosang:* 'Building of plenty', the name of the building which dealt with public welfare.

2 *Potsempa:* to use witchcraft with the intention to harm. This term is used for the first time.

3 *Thamchet.* The seeds of the lotus flower are eaten as a delicacy while tender, and when dried are used for beads. The roots are also eaten.

Sakabda 1633 (1711 CE)

The year of Wangkheirakpam Kongyampa, Sakabda 1633 (1711 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. On that day they began to build Lai Kangla's (shrine). 22 Friday, Kangla (shrine) was inaugurated. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 16 Sunday, a further oracle was given.[1] The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. On the full moon Friday, Macha Yipungo Aahan, the eldest prince of Ningthem, was born. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 14 Friday, the sovereign king Mayampa at the age of twenty-two years had

his ears pierced. The month of **Mera** (September/ October) began on Monday. In the month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) Ningthem participated in the boat race.

1 *Paoson akonpane: Paoson* message or oracle from the *lai, akonbane* from *akonba* later or last in the context of time; the last oracle.

Sakabda 1634 (1712 CE)

The year of Aakham Ngaikhompa, Sakabda 1634 (1712 CE). In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) it was said that Laisram Lukok, Aaringnang and Paopam Chaopa, all three had committed murder, and on account of that there was an affray. Chaopa was handed over alive in Thangching. In the month of **Kalen** (April/May) Sicha Khuraileima Mayampi was married. In the month of **Yinga** (May/June) as it was said that the new Konok,[1] Chantrasekhor, who was on his way to Takhen, was murdered by Haorongpam Maichou[2] at Torbung, near Khuka, most of the nobles were fined. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 28 Sunday, Aakong the *Senlungpa*, the son-in-law of one of the royal wives, and others left to wage war on Tokpa village. They burnt the central portion of the village. Captured many people. The people from the two villages of Nongphou Khunou and Thonampa made a blockade as the Meeteis were returning and the Meeteis were scattered. Many people died in battle. Chingkhwam Kyampa of Aahanlup *(Pana)*, Haoteicham Khomma and Leitongpam Chaopa, these three and others, a total of nineteen people, died. Three people raided Thyang Loncham. Ningthem undertook to give the last rites to all those who died in battle. In the month of **Mera** (September/October) they began to build Utra. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), it was said that there would be a solar eclipse that month. But the chief of the *maipas*, the one who was a hunchback, stopped it[3] and it did not take place. In the month of **Phairen** (January/February) Haopam Cha Yoncha the *Lakpa* of the Aahanlup *(Pana)* left for Yoncha Phaman to drag the main post[4] for (the building in) Kangla. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 26 Friday, Haopam Cha the *Senlungpa* prepared meat at Kokchai. Ningthem and Sicha accompanied those who went to hunt animals.

1 Konok *aanoupa:* lit. new Konok (who were astrologers). Refers to a group of new arrivals.

2 *Maichou.* The coming of the *Konoks* was resented by the Maichous, the Meetei scholars, who were also advisers to the king, since the Konoks threatened their position.

3 *Khamtuna:* from verb *Khamba* to stop, forbid. Literally 'as it was stopped'. The calculation of the *maipa* was proved correct and it was interpreted as the eclipse having been stopped by him. In the light of the tension, suggested by the killing of one of the newly arrived *Konoks* who were also astrologers, the reading indicates support for the old *maipas* whose task included that of the astrologers.

4 *Tareng:* normally means the indigenous wooden handmade spinning wheel. In this context the meaning is uncertain. A scribal error for *talla* meaning tree, posts for the building in Kangla.

Sakabda 1635 (1713 CE)

The year of Ngangom Chaoba, Sakabda 1635 (1713 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 26 Friday, they went to wage war on Sachun as *Phampan Lan*.[1] The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 18 Friday, Yipungo Loiyumpa Yaima died. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. The month

of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 6 Friday, Ningthem's son Shrichaipa[2] was born. On the new moon Monday, trees were planted along both sides of every road[3] by royal order. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. In the month of **Mera** (September/October) there was a flood. All those houses which in the past never had been flooded were all flooded. That year paddy was scarce. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. There was bloodshed when Ningthem went out to witness ceremonies. The month of **Phairen** (January/ February) began on Sunday.

1 *Phampan Lan.* Conflation of *phampan* throne, *lan* battle or raid, carried out to mark the crowning of the Meetei king. Someone or something must be captured on this occasion by either the king himself or someone on his behalf. Introduced for the first time.

2 *Shrichaipa: Shri,* a Sanskrit honorific term. First time this title is used, and the letter sh is now introduced.

3 *Phampan:* scribal error for *lampan/lamban,* by the road.

Sakabda 1636 (1714 CE)

The year of Yirom Koichompa, Sakabda 1636 (1714 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 21 Thursday, they left to buy an elephant for Sicha Ngaokhong Ngampi. 27 Thursday, Ningthem went to hunt at Ngarayan and Takna. He caught six beasts. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. 4 Wednesday, a tiger was caught at the main graveyard. 8 Sunday, Ningthem and Sicha went to inspect the land at Natumching hill. Chingthoupam Seran and Natok from Aaheipa Aawang, both had their hands cut off for stealing money from the state exchequer. 20 Friday, Ningthem had the grass cleared up to Tengnoupan. 24 Tuesday, a tiger was caught in (the area of) Muwa Ningthou.[1] 27 Friday, three tigers were caught at Soupanwa. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 6 Saturday, Sicha Sanarokpi died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 4 Saturday, Ningthem, sitting in front of the Utra, sold paddy.[2] 7 Tuesday, Ningthem collected paddy from his royal grandmother's granary at Changankei. 27 Monday, Ningthem, sitting on a stone by the palace gate, distributed paddy to all the frail and the suffering without discrimination. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 20 Tuesday, Ningthem and Sicha feasted on green maize. Tourangpam Maitek was made a eunuch. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. 10 Thursday, Sanlam Aapang left to raid Koro Nongwapok. Captured ten people in battle. 12 Saturday, the royal son-in-law Aakong the *Senlungpa* and others left to attack Mahou. Captured twenty-nine people in battle. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 10 Friday, Santhinpa the *Keirungpa* left to hunt elephants. There was a lunar eclipse on the full moon Wednesday. 28 Tuesday, Ningthem and Sicha left for Khomlen marsh to shoot *Porom* (common coot) and caught 550. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. 22 Friday, a barricade was built in Sekta. Aaton Kongyampa the younger brother of Sicha, and others built a barricade at Soichep Kameng. Satpam Moirampa and others built a barricade at Wainu. Haorongpa the *Keirungpa* and others built a barricade at Waikok. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 26 Friday, Naoroipam Mungyampa left for Sutpong and herded the people together. 29 Monday, Ningthem went to hunt at Takna.

Right away the party including Ningthem and Sicha camouflaged themselves with reeds. Natuwa[3] Krashnadas arrived.

1 Muwa *Ningthou:* lit. king of Muwa. The name of the post of the chief of Muwa.

2 *Taiye:* past tense of verb *taiba* to sell. Perhaps to raise funds for the state exchequer.

3 Natuwa Krashnadas: Natuwa could mean Nawadip. Scribal shorthand used for Krashna.

Sakabda 1637 (1715 CE)

The year of Aasangpam Haochou, Sakabda 1637 (1715 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. 10 Thursday, they began to build Kangla. There was an earthquake. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, Kangla was inaugurated. 8 Thursday, Ningthem inspected the land by the ascent of the mountain in Ngangpam (hills).[1] 21 Thursday, Ningthem and Sicha went to Leisangkhong to dedicate a pool to Laiwa Haipa.[2] The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 6 Thursday, Ningthem and Sicha went to hunt at Keirao. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. Monday, new moon, Ningthem, sitting by the palace gate, distributed paddy to the frail and the suffering. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 6 Monday, thirty-nine *Beiraki*[3] including the guru of the king of Tekhao arrived. 13 Monday, thieves coming to steal the early harvesting variety of paddy killed the watchman at Mangsamkei who was guarding the paddy fields. That year food was very scarce. Paddy was very expensive. One pair of *sangbai* baskets[4] of paddy cost forty-five big *Sen* coins. Fifteen pairs of *sangbai* baskets (of paddy) could obtain[5] a servant. It was reported that a mouse which was five *wais*[6] long was caught at None. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. 12 Tuesday, Ningthem went to the market and distributed paddy to all the frail and the suffering. On 23 Saturday, those with authority[7] were given the responsibility of distributing various administrative tasks (to others) concerning the administration of the land of Kangleipak.[8] It was the beginning of the involvement of the *Aangampas* in the administration of the country.[9] The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 25 Thursday, Huirongpa Kongyampa the *Keirungpa* died. 28 Sunday, as it was said that Yipungo Kongyampa who lived in Aakoijam and Sanlam Aapang, these two were using black arts against Ningthem, both of them were strangled to the south of the graveyard.[10] Ningthem's younger brother who lived in Aakoicham and his wife the Sanlam maiden were also wiped out with their (descendants).[11] (The executioner) leaped around them and speared[12] them at Mangnao[13] the burial ground. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday, Hicham Cha Haohan was given to the elephant to be thrown about. 11 Friday, Ningthem went to Yairipok to hunt elephants. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. On that day they began to build the temple for Kalika. 4 Sunday, Yipi[14] Aarampi gave birth to a princess. 14 Wednesday, twenty-eight elephants were caught. Ningthem returned on that day. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday. 5 Thursday, they began to build the great palace. 27 Friday, they began to build a royal palace at Karathong.

1 Ngangpam (hills): perhaps another name for Ngapurum hills.

2 Laiwa Haipa: lit. one who utters the words of the Lai or divinity. Possibly oracular deity.

3 *Beiraki:* from Bengali *Beiragi,* a religious group belonging to the Krishna cult with no permanent abode, who lived a normal life but claimed to have freed themselves from all worldly desires.
4 *Phoupot.* Conflation of two words, *phou* paddy, *pot* a pair. A pair of special baskets called *sangbai* used for measuring paddy, rice, etc. One *sangbai* weighs approximately thirty-two Indian *seers* or (0.933kg×32=) 29.86kg. One *phoupot*=60kg approximately. *Sangbai* measure differs slightly depending on the area and the season. *Phoupot* and *sangbai* measurements are still used.
5 *Khangye:* indicative of the verb *khangba* to know. A scribal error for *phangye* to obtain.
6 five *wais*. *Wai* is the distance from the thumb to the side of the palm when the fist is clenched. *Wai* is used in measuring horizontal, vertical, depth, diameter and circumference. Normally the adult male or female fist is used, depending on the situation. *Wai* measurement is still used in the hills and some villages in the plain.
7 *Aangampa:* those with authority.
8 *Kangleipak:* scribal correction.
9 As men with authority were given administrative power from the time of Loiyumpa, this may refer to a further decentralising of administrative power from the king.
10 *mangki makhata lakye: mangki* of the grave, *makhata* either under or south of, *lakye* past tense of the verb *lakpa* to come or to put the noose around. Literally 'was tied or strangled'. Another possible meaning is 'they were thrown in the grave'.
11 *maki takye:* lit. means 'his wiped out'. Sentence has no subject. A short form indicating that his line of descent was wiped out.
12 *ta leiye.* A very cryptic phrase. *Ta* spear, *leiye* past tense of the verb *leiba* to move about or dance in a circular movement.
13 *Mangnao:* burial ground used for the male descendants of the king.
14 *Yipi:* king's wife. The term is used for the first time.

Sakabda 1638 (1716 CE)

The year of Chongtham Leisang, Sakabda 1638 (1716 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 3 Thursday, Pamon the *Hanchapa,* who went to Takhen, returned. 10 Wednesday, the great palace was inaugurated. 17 Wednesday, Meitei Reima Kha Keithen Thanpi the Haopam maiden died. The month of **Kalen** (Apri/May) began on Wednesday. 13 Monday, Pamon Sitaram who went to Tekhao returned. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, the Tekhaos were made to settle in Thongtu. 7 Wednesday, Sicha the Haopam maiden who was staying in her parental home ascended the throne. 26 Monday, Sicha Aangang[1] died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. 17 Monday, they completed the (road) work in Kongpa. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 19 Thursday, Haopam Cha the *Senlungpa* went to seek out and apprehend the people of Huntung. He captured ten people from amongst the Phongtu Haos. 26 Friday, Senphoukak was killed in Kakching. 29 Monday, Thingpaicham Cha the *Maichou* had his hands cut off and the hands were hung on Chinga hill.[2] The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. 11 Friday, Ningthem distributed paddy to all the frail and the suffering in the market-place. 12 Saturday, Haopam Cha the *Senlungpa* and Ngangpam Cha the *Keirungpa,* these two and others left to seek out and apprehend the people of Huntung. They gathered together sixty-eight people who inhabited Karoutom hill. 28 Monday, twenty-eight people from amongst the Karou Haos who were left behind in the Khuman area earlier were detained[3] by (the Khumans). Altogether seventy-six of them were

allowed to settle as a village. The month of **Mera** (September/ October) began on Friday. 25 Saturday, Ningthem gave a public audience,[4] sitting in front of the royal gate. The people from Tekhao were given royal audience in Kangpokpi. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. 10 Wednesday, Aawa emissaries including six people of Samat,[5] a total of 156 people arrived to ask the hand of a Meetei princess. 12 Friday, the royal great palace was set alight. 29 Thursday, Munoi a servant of the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms was found murdered in *Mangnai*[6] burial ground. It was said in the market-place that it was a frightful thing. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 4 Saturday, Sicha, who later married into the Soukaicham family, was born. 22 Wednesday, a stag was caught in the garden of Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa*. The month of **Lamta** (February/ March) began on Friday. They began to build the great palace for Ningthem. 7 Thursday, the temple for Kalika was dedicated.

1 *Sicha Aangang: Sicha* lady in the royal household, *Angang* either a name or a child. *Sicha Aangang* a royal female child, or a royal lady by the name of Aangang.

2 The crime which deserved this punishment is not indicated.

3 *Tharouye:* scribal error for *pharouye* held back, detained.

4 *Sanathong mamangta phamme:* lit. sat in front of the palace gate.

5 six people of Samat. Meaning uncertain. Possibly the inhabitants of Somsok.

6 *Mangnai:* from *mang* grave, *nai* servant. The servants had a separate burial ground, just as the kings and their male descendants had their own burial grounds.

Sakabda 1639 (1717 CE)

The year of Heisnam Laipa, Sakabda 1639 (1717 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, Khanu the younger sister of Sicha was escorted on an elephant to Laiwa Haipa. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, they began to build the main royal palace. In the month of **Thawan** (July/August), Friday the first day of the lunar month, Wangkhei Maimu and Nongthonpam Aaton attacked the Tangkhuns of Yitok at Lansang as they also claimed the tribute payment. 6 Wednesday, the main royal palace was inaugurated. 11 Monday, a tiger was caught at Laininghou Hanpa. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. On the full moon Saturday, Haopam maiden Mayang Ngampi the Meetei Reima was demoted. Meetei Reima Ngangpam maiden Pangka Keithen Thanbi ascended the throne. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. 5 Friday, a pupil tree which became uprooted and fell on the ground in the Mongpahanpa grove stood up erect by itself. Monday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. 26 Friday, Lakham and Lapon went pretending that they were going to burn down Somsok but in fact they actually burnt down Kontong. Towards the beginning of the month Ningthem and some others accepted the Hindu religion[1] from guru Gopal Das. The month of **Hiyankei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. 10 Thursday, Kopacheng of Kapo and others including Yiramtapa dragged (down) two curved boats. Thursday, the first day of the lunar month of **Poinu** (November/December), Laininghou Wahaipa's[2] palanquin, which had been screened around with a cloth dyed pink, entered (his compound) with his servant wife[3] and it was made to appear that the Leima, the royal

lady dedicated to him, was in it. 7 Wednesday, Ningthem Mayampa left to wage war on Somsok. Haopam Cha the *Senlungpa* went right away to wage war on Maphet Lamlan. 14 Wednesday, Haopam (Cha) the *Senlungpa* scattered the people in battle[4] immediately. He also burnt down the central portion of the village and took fifty-four people in battle, including three who were still alive. Haopam Cha the *Senlungpa* reported the news to Ningthem. Right away they reached the area where the barricade was[5] and there was an affray by the barricade. Ten people died of gunshot, including the swordsmith Khakokpa the *Hitang*. They captured ninety men and 110 women alive, including the headman of the village, who came to meet the Aawa Leima by the bank of the river at Unung.[6] Ngangpam Cha the *Keirungpa*, the father of one of the Sichas (wives) of the king, captured and took prisoner thirteen people from the rear portion of Tarao village. In the month of **Wakching** (December/January), 2 Saturday, Ningthem returned. Ningthem gave the final rites to all those who were killed in battle. 22 Friday, Pamon the *Hanchapa* and Aayangpa of Kyamkei left for Langlong with a reply (from the king) to a message sent by Tekhao. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. On Sunday full moon it was told that Aawa had marched to battle and so Ningthem marched against them. There was fighting against the Aawas. Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa*, the conqueror of Mayon, also died in battle. After the Aawas had rounded up the (Meeteis), Polipa Lamthok charged forward on horseback and dispersed the Aawas. Ningthem rewarded Lamthok by exempting him from all compulsory duties to the state. 23 Monday, Ningthem returned. They captured 157 people of Aawa, 160 guns and ten horses. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Tuesday. All the nobles including Ningthem made (a pledge) to become blood brothers[7] with all the Lairam Tangkhuns. Ningthem persuaded them to join to fight against the people of Somsok.

1 Second king (after Charairongpa) to take the *Laiming loupa/ba* rite. Gopal Das was also known as Shanti Das. Scribal note on the side margin of this Ms leaf reads 'Ningthem had the *Laiming louba* rite.'

2 *Lainingthou Wahaipa:* for *Laiwa Haipa* the oracular deity.

3 *Matu manai:* either wife and servant or wife the servant. In this context the phrase refers to the woman who was dedicated to *Laiwa Haipa.*

4 *Nanta:* scribal error for *lanta* in battle.

5 *Panya pakye: Pan* barricade, *ya* by, *pakye* past tense of *pakpa* to be attached to. The army which was stationed by the barricade.

6 *Unung:* either a place name or meaning 'in the forest'.

7 *Mata sanahanye:* scribal error for *Matao Sanhanye. Mata* is female form.

Sakabda 1640 (1718 CE)

The year of Sairom Pansa, Sakabda 1640 (1718 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. Wednesday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. 19 Sunday, Ngangpam Cha the *Keirungpa* and others went to seek out and apprehend the people of Songsok. The last rites of Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa* were also performed. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 18 Monday, Ngangpam Cha the *Keirungpa* returned. Captured seven people in battle. (The people of) Yaisakun raided Keiyin. A tiger was caught at Chinga. Haopam Cha the *Lakpa* of the Aahanlup *(Pana)* and others left to thresh paddy at Songsok. The month **of Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday, Haopam Cha the *Lakpa* of the Aahanlup *(Pana)* captured nine

people. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 12 Friday, Haopam Cha the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms and Satpam Cha the *Senlungpa* left to seek out and apprehend the people of Songsok. 23 Tuesday, they returned. Captured four people in battle. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 5 Sunday, Meetei Reima Pangka Keithen Thanpi gave birth to Snahal. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 9 Friday, Maisnam Pukchao the *Senlungpa* and others left to attend the many paddy fields in Songsok. Captured two people in battle. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. On full moon Friday there was a lunar eclipse. 20 Wednesday, a tiger was caught in the garden of Lairikyengpa Chaowa. On Saturday the first day of the lunar month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November), Aangoupampa Lamphel Ngampa died. On the full moon Saturday they began to build the great palace. There was a very great flood. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 12 Sunday, Shicha who was married to the Soukaicham family was born. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Friday. The month of **Lamta** (February/ March) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, Yumlenpa, Ngangpam the *Keirungpa*, Santhinpa the *Keirungpa*, Kapo Kopeng the *Hitak Phanpa*[1] and Satpam the *Senlungpa*, these five went to seek out and apprehend the people of Songsok. They took in battle fourteen people alive and killed ten people. 5 Wednesday, Ningthem also left. 24 Monday, they halted by the barricade and there was an affray on the same day. Thirty-one people were injured,[2] including Aakhanpa the *Hitang*, Lairen Mupa and others. Five died (as they were trapped) in the fire.[3] The month of **Lamta**[4] (February/March) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday, Ningthem returned. Captured twenty-five people in battle. 8 Monday, Lairen Mupa died. 11 Thursday, the dredging of the river beginning from Singchamei was completed. The bridge at Keira was also completed. The course of the Aangoupakhong canal was also dredged. They also dammed up both Naka Thingen and Kaya Thingen dams.

1 *Hitak Phanpa: hitak* medicine or pot smoking, *phanpa* (verb) to take, the polite form. Literally, one who smokes the pot or one in charge of pot smoking. Either an official post to designate the person in charge of royal pot smoking, or perhaps in this context a nickname for Kapo Kopeng because of his habit of pot smoking. Pot smoking was introduced in Khakempa's time and became a habit of the royalty and the commoners, and is still practised.

2 *Seinaiye:* past tense of *sinaiba* to be scarred. In this context meant those who were injured.

3 *Lammei.* Conflation of two words, *lam* land, *mei* fire. Refers to wildfire. In this case it may have been started deliberately.

4 *Lamta* (February/March). This month has been entered twice. It may be to reconcile the lunar and the solar calendars.

Sakabda 1641 (1719 CE)

The year of Haowoipam Kampa, Sakabda 1641 (1719 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. All the people of Kangleipak[1] dug up the head of Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa*[2] along with other heads. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 8 Friday, someone came and asked to exchange one Mangkan beast[3] for ten (Meetei) horses. The portion of the river by Loklaopung, which had been dammed up, was reopened. The

month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. 4 Wednesday, the grandmother of Ningthem distributed[4] rice and fish and fed many people who were hungry. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. On Tuesday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 16 Monday, Sicha Khuraileima was born. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. Kongpacham Lamthok was bitten by a tiger in Chingmeirong and he died of the bite. 26 Saturday, Yipi Wayenpi gave birth to a prince. They completed (the building) for *lai* Prakhrapa. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. On the new moon Thursday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. 7 Thursday, the Harao Lou (field of joy) was cultivated in both Tokpham and Kongpa. 11 Monday, the royal great palace was set alight. They began to build the royal building for Laiwa Haipa. The royal grandmother Ngaikhong Ngampi also died.

1 *Kangleipak:* scribal correction.

2 This refers to secondary burial. Haopam Cha died in battle in Sak. 1639.

3 *Mangkansa.* Meaning uncertain. A beast from Mangkan or the name of a species.

4 *Yontuna:* by selling, from *yonba* to sell. Scribal error for *yentuna* by distributing, from *yenba* to distribute.

Sakabda 1642 (1720 CE)

The year of Keisam Womma, Sakabda 1642 (1720 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 11 Friday, they began to build the great palace for Ningthem. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 13 Monday, Ngangpam maiden who became the Meetei Reima was married. Wednesday new moon, Haopam (Cha) the *Lakpa* of the Aahanlup *(Pana)* and Ngangpam Cha the *Keirungpa*, these two and others who went to wage war[1] on Somsok returned victorious. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 11 Sunday, Khuraileima Mayampi died of smallpox. A great number of people also died (of smallpox). In that month eleven people led by a Vaishanava guru arrived in the country. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. 19 Wednesday, as smoke and steam were seen coming out of Sinlanpung mound, they dug up the four sides of the mound and inspected it. But they did not find anything. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. 20 Wednesday, Gopalo Das[2] left. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. In the month of **Mera** (September/ October) on the first day of the lunar month, Friday, an earthquake was felt twice. The month of **Hyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, a tiger was caught alive in the prison at Wairichingcheng mountain. 9 Saturday, (they) left for Aahongkei. All those from the granary and those who went to raid (returned together) by boat the same day. Friday full moon, Thongpam Chutna left for Khoyakhun to hunt elephants. 19 Tuesday, Thongpam Chutna died as he was attacked by an elephant. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 27 Friday, blood was shed as Ningthem took revenge. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. A pool was dug in Heipok for Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa*.[3] On Monday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 8 Wednesday, Ningthem climbed Khongphei.

The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, Ningthem gathered together the beasts at Haokhei. 4 Sunday, (they left) to raid Tongtomei and Mawao. They captured twenty-two people in battle. Tummu Rakpa and Mangsa Rakpa, these two chiefs presented their daughters (to the king). Palanquins were made and they were carried in them.

1 *lan narupa:* past perfect of *lan napa/naba* to raid, to attack, indicating that the task had been completed.

2 Gopalo Das. For Gopal Das, from whom Mungyampa took the sacred thread in Sak. 1639.

3 Haopam Cha *Pukhranpa na:* by Pukhranpa. *Na* indicates the subject of the action. Since Pukhranpa died in Sak. 1639, *na* is a scribal error for *ki* meaning for. Perhaps this was a memorial pool for *Pukhranpa.*

Sakabda 1643 (1721 CE)

The year of Thoutapa Heiton, Sakabda 1643 (1721 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 8 Friday, they erected a mound for Sicha Sanarokpi. 13 Wednesday, the Menu bridge broke owing to the reeds brought down by the swelling waters of the river. Timber and bamboo which were washed down by the current from the broken Menu bridge caused the *lai's* bridge (by the palace) to break. 22 Friday, Ningthem went to raid Tongmon Nammon. Ningthem raided thirteen villages. Haopam Cha the *Lakpa* of the Aahanlup *(Pana)* scattered forty-five villages. Captured twenty-two people in battle. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday, the pool at Heipok which was dug in honour of Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa* was inaugurated. Ningthem returned (from attending the inauguration.) 17 Friday, Ningthem went down to Leisangkhong to lay the foundations of a building with a domed roof for Laiwa Haipa. The month of Yinga (May/June) began on Monday. 14 Sunday, as the Kapos and the Pangans challenged each other in a battle, Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa*[1] led the Pangans and they all went to attack Somsok. 23 Tuesday, they returned. They captured sixty-seven people in battle. The month of Yingen (June/July) began on Wednesday. The shrine with the domed roof in Leisangkhong was inaugurated. Ningthem attended the function. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. Ngangpam (Cha) the *Keirungpa* and others left for Kapo[2] to attack Somsok. They returned before getting there. 25 Monday, Ningthem went to Ningthoupuren and was successful in enclosing a tiger (in a barricade). Nongthonpam Chaopa and Yaithingpam Cheksai, these two were made to chase the tiger. The tiger was caught. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. 29 Sunday, Ngangpam (Cha) the *Keirungpa* and others left for Kapo[3] to attack Somsok. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. Satpam Moirampa the *Senlungpa* and others left for Somsok to thresh paddy. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun, the father to the queen, and others along with all the inhabitants of the village, the servants of the king left to thresh paddy at Somsok. Loitongpam Aatengpa Khanpa was murdered in the house of Maipa Mungyam. On Thursday the full moon, those who went to Somsok to thresh paddy returned. They killed five people and took five alive, a total of ten people in the battle. On that day the pool for Laiyingthou Nongsapa was inaugurated in Sangaiparou. Ningthem attended the ceremony. Sunday, Haorongbam Cha Lamnem the *Lakpa* of Khwai died at the age of ninety-five years. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. 8

Friday, Kuru[4] Mahanta was moved to Thangpichrou from Chinga. Friday full moon, there was a lunar eclipse. It was a total eclipse. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. Carpenter Kopeng the *Senlungpa* and others left to attack Somsok. 25 Monday, they returned. Captured twelve people in battle.

1 Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa* led the Pangans to battle: another person from the family of Haopam who now held the post of the *Pukhranpa*.

2–3 *Kapo na. Na* indicates that Kapo is the subject Scribal error, or perhaps some of the people referred to here were originally from Kapo but settled in Manipur.

4 *Kuru:* for guru.

Sakabda 1644 (1722 CE)

The year of Puthem Yithai, Sakabda 1644 (1722 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 5 Sunday, the *Potsangpa Hitang,* Thangcham Cha Cheksa and others went to seek out and apprehend the people of Somsok. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, they began to build the temple for *Krasna*.[1] The month of Yinga (May/June) began on Saturday. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. The month of **Thawan** (July/ August) began on Wednesday. 10 Friday, the *Wayenpa*[2] who was also the *Lakpa* of the main office of the Naharup Institute,[3] and others left to seek out and apprehend the people of Somsok. 22 Wednesday, the temple for Krasna was inaugurated. Gifts were distributed to all the noble and the brave, the skilled and the unskilled, Pamons and Konoks, not leaving out any who was entitled. On the new moon Thursday, those from Naharup *(Pana)* who went to battle (against Somsok) returned. Captured ten people in battle. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. Seven *Sageis*[4] of the Keiroi who ate the flesh of cattle were all arrested, beaten and made a public spectacle.[5] The month of Mera (September/October) began on Saturday. 10 Monday, Ngangom Maitek the *Hanchapa,* who also smoked pot, and others left to seek out and apprehend the people of Somsok. 21 Friday, they returned. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 19 Friday, the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun the father of Sicha and others left to seek out and apprehend the people of Somsok. 6 Sunday of the month of **Poinu** (November/December) they returned. On the full moon Tuesday there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 12 Wednesday, Ningthem left to attack Chanta. 23 Sunday, the battle was fought. Yumlenpa Kapeng and others were made to lead the army and camp at Somsok. Ningthem scattered Chanta. They burnt down the central portion of the villages. Captured 460 people in battle. Right away the army marched to Somsok, coming up by the Angkoching mountain, and surrounded (the enemy) on all sides and camped around them. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. As it was reported that the (king of) Takhen had marched against the Meeteis and taken four Haorampus[6] and six people from Aaimon, Pamon the *Hanchapa* and the *Lakpa* of Naharup *(Pana),* these two and others left to repel the invaders.

1 *Krasna:* for *Krishna.* The scribe has used only the original *Meetei Mayek* letters. These do not correspond to the Sanskrit, the Meetei r is not retroflex. The sh is written differently from the entry for Sak. 1629 (as used in Bishnu). The first vowel is a instead of i. n is written differently to indicate it is nasal. First time this name for a divinity has been used.

2 *Wayenpa:* Judge.
3 *Naharup Sanglen:* the main office of the Naharup Institute.
4 *Sagei:* extended family.
5 First time a public shaming of beef eaters took place.
6 *Haorampu:* officials who were posted in the hills in the king's service and who had been given certain minor powers concerning law and order amongst the people in the hills. This post is mentioned for the first time.

Sakabda 1645 (1723 CE)

The year of Wamanpa Mera, Sakabda 1645 (1723 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 8 Wednesday, Ningthem was victorious over Somsok and he returned. He incorporated[1] all those in Somsok, all the inhabitants of the villages, his subjects in the nation, as his concern. On Wednesday full moon Yipemma Wayempi gave birth to a prince. 29 Wednesday, Haopam Cha the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup *(Pana)* and others left to attack Takhen. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 27 Wednesday, those who went to attack Takhen returned. Captured two people in battle. Laitoncham Cha Kongyampa and others, a total of thirty-nine people, lost their lives. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. On that day the course of the Kangkhong canal leading up to the river was dredged. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. Lamloi the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun, the father of Sicha, died. The keeping of pigs and hens in the residential area (in the town) was forbidden. They were all sent away to the villages in the country. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. It was declared that nine *Umang lais,*[2] two *Lammapi (lais)* were not to be regarded as *lais* and all their shrines were demolished. 24 Thursday, Sicha Khuraileima was born while the mother was on the throne. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. Friday full moon Pamons were made to attend *Laiyingthou Nongsapa, Yimthei Lai, Panthoipi* and *Taipang Khaipa,* for these four *lais* the Pamons were allowed to conduct the appeasement rites.[3] 29 Friday, the goldsmith who was the *Lakpa* of Naharup *(Pana)* and Kopeng the *Hitang* (who was in charge) of pot smoking, these two and others left to attack Takhen. Aangom Cha Lamtapa died. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 17 Tuesday, the Meetei army was scattered by the Takhen army in Purum (village). Twenty people including Langmaithenpa lost their lives. Satpam Cha the *Pukhranpa* and others left to attack Takhen. All the Keirois working in granaries without any exception took part in building the Waithou Thingen barricade. On the same day, Wednesday, Ningthem left to attack Takhen. 20 Friday, Ningthem returned. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 12 Friday, Santhinpa the *Keirungpa* and others left to eject back the Aawas as it was reported that they had marched against (the Meeteis) both from the hills and the river[4], in a two-pronged attack. On the full moon Monday, Aangoupampa (Aangom king) Konkhompa ascended his throne. 24 Wednesday, the army of Aawa camped on the top of Nanhou mountain. 28 Sunday, Ningthem left to attack the Aawas. Tuesday new moon, the Aawa army was challenged in hand-to-hand combat in Wangching paddy field and the Aawas were scattered. Three elephants and 2,000 Aawas both alive and dead were taken, and the prisoners were detained. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on

Wednesday. 4 Saturday, Ningthem returned. 6 Monday, they left to attack Takhen. 13 Monday, Ningthem himself also left and there was hand-to-hand combat and they captured ten people. On the same day the Takhens fled of their own accord from Loklou. 16 Thursday, Ningthem returned. The month of **Lamta** (February/ March) began on a Friday. The (Somsok) prisoners were allowed to return to their own villages in Somsok. Aamu the *Nongthonpa* died.

1 *Yokchei:* from verb *yokpa* to adopt, to take care of, to nourish and protect. Verb also used for supporters dependent upon. *Yokchei* the polite form indicating that favour was shown.

2 *Umang lai:* lit. forest deity. Term used for Meetei divinity.

3 Normally it was the *Meetei Maipis* and *Maichous* who conducted the appeasement rites of the *Meetei lais*. Some of these *lais* now had been handed to the Pamons who were the migrant Brahmins. In allowing the Pamons to initiate the appeasement rites Hinduisation of the traditional *lais* began.

4 *Yiram:* the direction in which the river flows. It was a march against the country from both the land and the river. The Ningthi river's source is in Manipur and the land can also be approached upstream.

Sakabda 1646 (1724 CE)

The year of Moirang Khoitong, Sakabda 1646 (1724 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday, they erected a memorial mound for Meetei Reima Khaki Keithen Thanpi. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday, Satpam Cha Kyampa the *Pukhranpa* died. On the new moon Thursday Yipemma Wayenpi gave birth to a prince. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. 20 Saturday, the royal great palace was set alight. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 8 Wednesday, Mangkan Institute (building) was set alight. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. All those who kept pigs in the housing area were fined. 11 Sunday, as it was reported that Aawa was marching to attack, Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa* and the people of Naicha and others left for Mangsaram. Haopam Cha Kongyampa the *Sakon Hanchapa*[1] and the people of Khuncha and many others left for the area of Yipan (to face the Aawas). Aawas retreated. Those who fled from Somsok were persuaded to join (in repelling the Aawas) but they did not come. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Tuesday. 20 Sunday, Ningthem, after having exhumed the bones of most of his male ancestors, left for the Ningthi river (Chindwin) to cremate them completely by the river.[2] The practice of cremating the dead by fire throughout the land[3] also began at this period. Addressing Ningthem as *Maharaja*[4] also began at this time. Ningthem returned from his trip to the Ningthi river on Friday.

1 *Sakon Hanchapa:* official in charge of all affairs relating to horses. Later this post became a designate for a prince, preferably a brother to the reigning king.

2 *Maputhou kheipikpu meita yiktuna: Maputhou kheipik* most of his male ancestors, *meita yikpa* to fire as in firing bricks, *yiktuna* by burning. Since the dead were normally buried and there was also the practice of secondary burial, it was not a difficult task to exhume the bones of most of the former kings and have them cremated, though in normal circumstances the dead

were not disturbed after the secondary burial. It is still the practice amongst the Hindus of India to deposit the ashes of the dead in the waters of some great river such as the Ganges which the Hindus believe to be sacred. After his initiation to Hinduism the king came to regard Ningthi river as sacred.

3 *Leipak pumnamak meita ikpasu:* cremation of the dead began to be practised throughout the land. But cremation was and still is applied only to those on whom Hinduism was imposed. Even among the Hindu Meeteis dead infants and suicides are not cremated.

4 *Maharaja:* Sanskrit term for great king.

Sakabda 1647 (1725 CE)

The year of Nongmaithem Loicha, Sakabda 1647 (1725 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 7 Thursday, Ningthem began to build the great palace. Aangoupampa Chanthou Ngampa ascended the throne (of Aangom). The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, Santhinpa Pansa the *Keirungpa* died. 12 Wednesday, the great palace was inaugurated. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. Ngangpam Laphong the *Keirungpa* who left to bring the racing barge from the area of the Kapuis returned. 25 Thursday, Sanahan Murari died. He was given the last rites[1] in the main graveyard. Two of his maid-servants jumped in the fire[2] and they both died together. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, Sicha Aahan who was married to the Satpam family died. On the new moon Wednesday Yipi Yaikhupi gave birth to a prince. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 21 Wednesday, Yipi Lairikyengpi gave birth to a prince. A temple with a seven-tiered roof which belonged to the Ngangpam family was inaugurated. Ningthem attended the ceremony. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, Meetei Reima the Ngangpam maiden also called Pangka Keithen Thanpi was demoted. 10 Monday, Meetei Reima Paikhu Laithapi the Wayenpam maiden ascended the throne. 29 Friday, seventy wild elephants were trapped in the enclosure in Salungthen. Ningthem went and captured them. The month of **Mera** (September/ October) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, the Maharaja returned from capturing the elephants. On the full moon Sunday there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 12 Saturday, Yipi Hidaksungpi[3] gave birth to a princess. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, Ngangpams were fined. Sicha Koirempi was deported to Yiharai and all her children and grandchildren were deported to Kei Loi.[4] Senlongpa and Reputi, these two were made to be dragged by an elephant.[5] Konthoucham Khepa and Ngingonpa the *Maipa*, these two were killed at Chinga Kachin. On the full moon Wednesday, Haopam Cha Aanuthon and Sicha Aaton were married. 22 Wednesday the (section of the) river by Langmeipung mound was filled. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. 19 Tuesday, guru Mahanta and others raided Prumpan barricade again and again. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. 11 Wednesday, a pond of 100 *lam* (square) was dug in Kongpa. 16 Sunday, a prince was born. 17 Monday, they began to build the main royal palace for Ningthem in the northern section of the palace complex, in the area where there was formerly a temple. On that day guru Mahanta arrived. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday.

1 *Potloiye:* was given the last rites. Since cremation had been introduced it refers to cremation while still retaining the old term *potloipa,* meaning last rites, even though *meita yikpa* is used for cremation.
2 This is not *Sati* since the maid servants were not the wives of the deceased.
3 *Yipi Hidaksungpi: Yipi* king's wife, *Hidak* medicine or tobacco paste for pot smoking, *sungpi* one who makes it, with feminine ending. *Yipi,* skilled in making either traditional medicine or tobacco paste, or both.
4 *Kei Loi:* a Loi area.
5 dragged by an elephant. A cruel punishment but practised for offences against the authority of the king.

Sakabda 1648 (1726 CE)

The year of Yengkokpam Lenghan, Sakabda 1648 (1726 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. On Tuesday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. Both (the figures of) *Krashna*[1] and *Kalika* were placed by the pool. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, the pool was inaugurated. 5 Monday, a tiger was caught in the main area of Chinga. 10 Saturday, the main royal palace was inaugurated. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. Nine (representations of) *Umang lais* were made to be gathered and brought at Mongpahanpa (grove).[2] The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. Many dogs became rabid and all those who were bitten died. 23 Monday, *Laiyingthou, Panthoipi, Laiwa Haipa* and two *Lammapis, Soraren, Hoiton Pokpi,* these seven (representations of the) *lais* were smashed.[3] Round currency coins were issued. palace was set alight. Many houses were burnt. The month of **Langpan** (August/ The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 4 Friday, Ningthem's great September) began on Wednesday. 7 Tuesday, Sicha Aaton married to the Haopam family died. 11 Saturday, Yipi Chingakhampi gave birth to a prince. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 14 Wednesday, Ningthem left to attack Aanan. Aanan was scattered. Captured ten people in battle. 23 Friday, Ningthem returned.

1 *Krashna.* The scribe has reverted back to the original spelling of Krashna in *Meetei Mayek* (cf. Sak. 1636) and has introduced the sh sound and changed the long a after n to a short a.
2 The names of these nine *Umang lais* are not given. Tradition says that these *lais* were buried in the Mongpahanpa grove.
3 Names of the seven *lais* are given and they include some of those for whom the king had not only introduced images but even allowed the brahmins to become their officiates. It was an attempt at the complete destruction of anything pre-Hindu by force.

Sakabda 1649 (1727 CE)

The year of Ningonpam Kyampa, Sakabda 1649 (1727 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. All the inhabitants of the villages, the servants of the king, moved from their homesteads. The month of **Kalen** (April/ May) began on Tuesday. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 5 Sunday, guru established a market at Sanlungthen. 10 Friday, Sicha Pangka Keithen Thanpi died. The (people in the) *Lanlup* were to report in three groups[1]. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. All the male commoners who inhabit the hills[2] were made to join the *Lanlup*. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. The main areas in both

Wangkhei and Yaisakun were repaired by raising the ground level. 19 Wednesday, the guru, Ningthem and the Sicha went to Nungkei to feast on mangoes. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. 22 Sunday, the guru built a bridge at Singchamei. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/ November) began on Wednesday. 20 Monday, the guru, Haopam Cha the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup *(Pana)* and Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei, these three and others left to attack Takhen. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 7 Thursday, all the Tangkhuns from all the mountain ranges joined together and revolted. All the inhabitants in the plain and all the people of the Loi areas jointly fought against them. The Tangkhuns were subjugated. 13 Wednesday, as the people of Takhen requested to be on good terms, all those who went to attack them returned. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 21 Friday, Yipi Chingakhampi gave birth to a prince. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. Ningthem left to attack Yitok on 20 Sunday, as it was reported that the Tangkhuns from Yitok had murdered the *Lampu*. All the Tangkhuns from all the mountain ranges came before Ningthem and presented one mithun, one goat, plates and a steel *khang*[3] and bowed before Ningthem. They confessed that they had committed wrong and begged the king not to set upon them at the centre of their village.[4] 23 Tuesday, Ningthem returned.

1 Formerly the *Panas* did all report simultaneously.

2 *Chingpuroipa Hao* were made to join the *Lanlup: Chingpuroipa*, conflation of *Ching* hill, *pu/bu* of, *roi* plural form of belonging to, *pa* (male ending), hence male inhabitants of the hills. *Hao* indicates 'commoners' and was not a term originally used to refer to the people who inhabit the hills. Bringing in of the commoners from the hills was perhaps a further attempt since Loiyumpa to unify all the people regardless of the areas of habitation.

3 *Yot khang: Yot* steel, *khang* cooking pot like a wok.

4 *Khunyai: khun* village, *yai* middle or precious. Could refer to the central part of the village, or the heart of the village. Devastation of villages was always carried out by setting alight the middle of the village.

Sakabda 1650 (1728 CE)

The year of Takhen Monsang, Sakabda 1650 (1728 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. It was also the new year's day.[1] The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 6 Thursday, two elephants were caught at Thongkrangpi, one was dead and the other was alive. 8 Saturday, one more elephant was caught at Koikhong canal. Another twenty-three wild elephants were caught at Phoukakchou. 18 Tuesday, the guru and Ningthem left for Moirang to hunt elephants. The month of Yinga (May/June) began on Monday. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 5 Sunday, goldsmith Hongngai the *Hanchapa* of the boat crew died. 10 Friday, Sicha Tompi[2] was married into the Soukaicham family. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. Thursday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. 10 Wednesday, the guru and Ningthem, these two and others left to attack Maring. Khunpi (the main village), Lamlong (the village at the junction of two roads), Karongthen and Machi, all these villages were scattered. A temple was built in the centre of Khunpi.[3] Captured forty people alive and five were

killed in the battle. 28 Sunday, Ningthem returned. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. 14 Saturday, a wild elephant was caught. Kolupam Khungam was killed by the elephant. Sunday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 6 Saturday, it was suggested that the whole country be divided into four *panas*.[4] 17 Wednesday, the guru, Ningthem and Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei[5] left to attack Sairem. The main grave was also dug.

1 *Panlok oiye:* (The day) was *panlok. Panlok* could be a derivation from *Palak,* a Bengali term (adjective), meaning cherishing, observing. Here it refers to the keeping of the Meetei new year's day which was and is still held in the month of Sachiphu. On this day certain religious rites are also performed thanking the *lai* for the year that is gone, and asking for the protection of the king, country and people from all forms of danger, and the granting of peace and an abundant harvest and long life in the coming years. These rites are carried out to this day by the *Maibis/Maichous* and not by the Hindu brahmins. The term *Panlok* is used for the first time for *Sachiphu Cheiraopa/Cheiraoba,* the traditional new year communal rite and celebration.

2 *Sicha Tompa:* scribal error for *Tompi*. *Tompa* has a masculine ending.

3 Maring village. Mayampa the king tried to extend his Hinduising programme to the hills.

4 Originally six *panas,* administrative divisions, were formed in Loiyumpa's time. No reason has been given for the reduction in the number of the *panas.*

5 *Wangkhei Rakpa:* for *Wangkhei Lakpa,* or the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei, chief or in charge of Wangkhei.

Sakabda 1651 (1729 CE)

The year of Satokpam Saipu, Sakabda 1651 (1729 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 7 Tuesday, the whole country was divided into four *panas* and the people (males) were made to report in two groups for *Lanlup*.[1] 25 Saturday, those who went to attack Sairem returned. They were victorious over Sairem, Nungsai and Urakkhun villages. They captured thirty-one people alive in battle. The month of Kalen (April/May) began on Friday. 9 Saturday, two wild elephants which were driven from Yairipok along the Lilong road were caught by Sanchenthong bridge (near Kangla). The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 7 Friday, Maipak of Kakching and others had their hands cut off as they were caught stealing. Those dismembered hands were hung at the four gates of the barricades.[2] 16 Sunday, the stone which was erected in the royal market-place was dragged to the Mongpahanpa grove to carve out of it the idol Hanuman.[3] 24 Monday, the Pamons requested that they do the task which was normally done by the Konoks. The Bamons wanted to take the task of the Konoks but they were forbidden.[4] The descendants of one Brahmohon Koilambon Misra who were then teaching astrology to those (in the country) who were already skilled astrologers[5] were now ordered by Goripniwaj[6] Maharaja to stop teaching, on the grounds that the *mahapurus* were not even then doing the task of a Bramohon. (At this) most of the Bamons left for Aawa. But they were stopped from going further at Wangching foothills and they returned. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began Wednesday. 2 Thursday, as (the king) agreed to acknowledge Laiyningthou Wahaipa as a divinity,[7] he also agreed to acknowledge the

area of Yimthei as a sacred ground. 11 Saturday, Yipungo Aatonpa was born while his mother was the reigning queen. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 7 Wednesday, the Thangapat moat was dug while Ningthem vacated the palace. Professional singing and the Institute of Pena (playing) were established at that period.[8] 27 Tuesday, Wayenpam Cha the *Nongthonpa* left to bring the racing barge. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, Moikaiching hill was filled.[9] 20 Wednesday, those who went to Chothe to drag the racing barge returned. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 11 Wednesday, the temple for *Hanuman* was inaugurated. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. 19 Friday, Sicha who was married to the Ngangpam family and her son the *Keirungpa* were deported to Suknu.[10] The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 11 Friday, an idol[11] was inaugurated in the shrine of Laiwa Haipa. Wednesday full moon the guru and Ningthem immersed themselves in the river at Lilong and on that day the *mahapurus* gave sacred thread (to the king).[12] 22 Wednesday, the guru and Ningthem returned after raiding Kapui Nungsai. 2 Tuesday,[13] Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei and Wayenpam Cha the *Nongthonpa,* these two and others left to attack Namphou. They halted at Khunyai for seven days. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 4 Tuesday, those who left to raid Namphou returned. 10 Thursday, three horses which were also called *Lot* were brought by some people from Khaki.

1 *Lanlup.* The four *panas* now have been organised into two *Lanlups*.

2 four gates of the barricades: the gates in the palace wall which were located on the four sides.

3 Scribal emendation at the top margin of *P. Ms* has ‘the making of the figure of Hanuman’.

4–5 It seems that the incoming brahmin immigrants were trying to take away the profession from the existing astrologers, at which the king pointed out the legitimate profession of the brahmins. Scribal addition at the margin of the *P. Ms*.

6 Goripniwaj for Garibniwaz, another name for King Mayampa. Possibly given by his Indian settlers, but why an Arabic or Persian name was used is puzzling.

7 *Laiyingthou Wahaipa.* No information has been given as to why the king had changed his mind concerning this traditional oracular deity.

8 Both the Institutes of Music and of Pena were already long established. This must refer to changes and modification. The Pena is the traditional one-stringed fiddle.

9 Meaning uncertain.

10 Suknu: place name. Deportation to Suknu also implied punishment with death by drowning.

11 *Laiwa Haipaki furata murti sangkaiye.* No indication if this was a Hindu *murti* or if Laiwa Haipa was represented by a carving or a casting.

12 *Nukun thangpiye:* lit. was made to carry the *nukun*, the sacred thread, an external mark to indicate the faith. The Hindu Upanayana rite normally takes place just before the male child born in a Hindu family reaches the age of puberty. The king was initiated into the Hindu religion in Sak. 1639 and now his initiation has been confirmed after a lapse of eleven to twelve years. These two rites, that of initiation and confirmation in the Hindu religion, may have been performed separately because the king was not born into a Hindu family. Later, in Manipuri Hinduism, both *Laiming loupa* and *nukun thangpa* (initiation into Hinduism and the taking of the sacred thread) were combined in one rite. Phrase used for the first time. Though Hindu *Upanayana* takes place only once in one’s lifetime, the thread may be renewed.

13 2 Tuesday. If this is an entry for **Wakching** (December/January), this date is out of order. May be an error or the date 2 Tuesday may be for the following month **Phairen.** There is no entry for **Phairen.** *LI.* & *NK. Ch.K.* (i) reads exactly as the *P. Ms.* The *Deva Ms* has

'Phairen begins on Wednesday' and the entry is completely different. The *Din. Ms* has '20 Tuesday' in place of '2 Tuesday' and the entry is the same as the *P. Ms*. The *LI.* & *NK. Ch.K.* (ii) has the same text but with extra information in the entry of the 20th of the following month, **Phairen.**

Sakabda 1652 (1730 CE)

The year of Soraisam Pangan, Sakabda 1652 (1730 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, the temple which belonged to Wayenpam Cha the *Nongthonpa* was inaugurated. Five Pamons who were new immigrants[1] arrived with the (dried) cooked rice (which had been offered) to the idol *Jaganath*.[2] 5 Wednesday, Haopam maiden Sicha Ponglen Khonpi died. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 9 Friday, Haopam Cha the *Keirungpa* died. 20 Tuesday, Haopam maiden married into the Yirom family died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 8 Friday, the Kangla of the *lai* Maharaja[3] was inaugurated. Full moon Saturday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, the moat Thangapat on the northern side (of the palace) was dug. The *Hanchapa* of the Aachoipa Institute and Sarotkhaipa Aapong were fined and Pansa their brother was deported to Suknu. 18 Tuesday, a woman in the house of Koirem was bitten by a tiger and she died. The tiger was caught and it was brought and kept at the market-place within an enclosure. The month of **Mera** (September/ October) began on Thursday. 18 Saturday, the people began to attend the new market. 19 Monday, the guru and Ningthem inaugurated the palace at Yairipok. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, Ningthem left to escort the guru up to Tuwarok. Premtasa and six others accompanied the guru. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 7 Saturday, people began to attend the market in the morning. 10 Tuesday, Tensupa Khomma was escorted to the post of the king of Moirang after he was appointed to the post (by the king). 25 Wednesday, they began to fill in the river in the palace (compound).[4] The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 10 Thursday, they began to build the Mangkan Institute building on the foundation where the *lai Pangkanpa's*[5] house stood. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. On the full moon Wednesday Aangom maiden Leimakhupi the *Hanchapi* was escorted to Laiwa Haipa. 20 Monday, Yipi Hidaksungpi gave birth to a child. 26 Sunday, the four *panas* shared in repairing the area by the great palace by raising the ground level. 28 Tuesday, the Satpam homestead was set alight. Flying sparks spread the fire up to Bamon lane and it was also burnt. One person from Bamon lane and another from the Satpam (family) were burnt to death. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, they completed the filling in of the river (by the palace). 14 Thursday, Sicha Keithen Thanpi died. While she was being cremated the storehouse for clothes[6] caught light. The fire spread and the boathouse with four boats were burnt. 15 Friday, a temple was inaugurated.

1 Five new Pamon immigrants. Very likely they were from a different area as well as being of a different sect of Hinduism from the earlier immigrant groups.

2 *Jaganath:* associated with Rathjatra festival of chariots.

3 *lai Maharaja:* for *lai Yingthou* divine king. Now Maharaja is used for king but the prefix *lai* is still retained. First time this phrase is used. This designation of the king as a *lai* (divinity)

was demonstrated concretely after the death of this king when an image of him was cast and put along with other Hindu images in the temple of Ram in the eastern area of Imphal. The Meetei ancestor veneration here has given way after the introduction of Hinduism to the casting of idols of the ancestors. Some of Mayampa's descendants who became kings also had their images cast as idols and placed in temples.

4 *konungki:* of the palace or in the palace compound. According to the reconstructed drawing of the layout of the old Kangla palace known as *Kangla Paphal,* rivers are shown within the Kangla area. The 'big river' *(Turen Achoupa)* was diverted from its course to enlarge the Kangla area. The original palace compound was much bigger than the area which at present is known as Kangla.

5 *lai Pangkanpa.* Scribal error or a variant spelling of *lai Pakhangpa,* the ancestral deity of the *Ninthoucha* clan.

6 *Phisang:* storehouse for clothes. Some of the tribute payments were made in woven clothes which were kept in the storehouse.

Sakabda 1653 (1731 CE)

The year of Aompa, Sakabda 1653 (1731 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 10 Monday, four tigers were caught. Four people were attacked. 17 Tuesday, a tiger was caught at Keikhong canal. 29 Saturday, all those who followed *Ramanti*[1] were fined. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday was taken as the third day of the lunar month.[2] 3 Wednesday, a temple was inaugurated for Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa* in the area where the Naokan grove was.[3] The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. Laisram Aaroi the *Hanchapa* of the gunners was fined. 18 Wednesday, the shrine for Laiwa Haipa at Laisangkhong was inaugurated and a stone was also erected. On the new moon Wednesday there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday. 7 Wednesday, Sicha Aaton was born. 27 Wednesday, they began to build Kangla. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 23 Thursday, Haopam Cha Nachou the *Hanchapa* of the horse grooms, who went to bring two big barges curved at the stern and a small one, returned. Ningthem received the boats. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa's* child (daughter) was married to Sana Aahan. 17 Saturday, the *Pangan Senlungpa* who was the father of Leima[4] left to receive the beasts from Mayang. 25 Monday, Ningthem's younger sister Sicha Keithen Thanpi died. They also began to build the great palace for Ningthem. It had sloping roofs[5]. 23 Friday, Haopam Cha Aachou the *Keirungpa* and others left to attack Namphou. The month of **Lamta** (February/ March) began on Tuesday. 10 Thursday, they began to build the brick wall round the palace.

1 *Ramanti:* believers in *Ram* the Hindu god.

2 Tuesday the 2nd was counted as being the third day: Meetei months are lunar and this was done to accommodate the solar *sakabda* calendar.

3 *Naokan* grove: one of the groves relating to a Meetei Lai, the patron of childbirth. *Nao* placenta, *Kan* from *kanba* to protect, to safeguard.

4 *Leimapokpa: Leima* wife of the king, *pokpa* (verb) to give birth: the father of one of the wives of the king. He is also referred to as a Pangan (Muslim) *Senlungpa.* It is possible that he was a non-Muslim and held the post of *Senlungpa* over the Muslims.

5 *Laikhan.* The term *lai khan* literally means to shade or screen the *lai* and refers to the sloping roof at the front and rear of a Manipuri house. It could have been used only in the *lai's* house originally. This was introduced for the first time in a dwelling house.

Sakabda 1654 (1732 CE)

The year of Aamom Wakong, Sakabda 1654 (1732 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, they began to build the shrine for Laiwa Haipa. 7 Thursday, Ningthem inaugurated the great palace. 23 Saturday, Haorongpam Aaroi and others returned from their attack on Chingleiri. Captured eighty-four people. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. On the full moon Sunday there was a lunar eclipse. It was a total eclipse. 21 Saturday, the dedication of *lai* Kangla[1] ended. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday, they caught a tiger at Lamteng.5 Friday, Ningthem inaugurated Kangla (building). 13 Sunday, a tiger was caught at Thangpicharou. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 7 Tuesday, Takhen Langlong arrived. 27 Saturday, Ningthem went to Leima hill to feast on pineapple. A tiger was caught at Haorang and it was presented (to the king). Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa* and others began to record the genealogy of all the land according to their clans.[2] The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 7 Thursday, a tiger was caught at Ngarong. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. They flattened the top of the Leimaching hill. 17 Sunday, Meetei Reima was destroyed.[3] Even Laiwa Haipa in the Mongpahanpa grove was also destroyed (or made unclean).[4] The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) also began on Sunday. Monday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. It was a total eclipse. The guru called out Thakur Mahanta and others together with all their extended families[5] to come from Mayang (to Kangleipak). The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday.

1 *Lai* Kangla. No indication if this dedication was of the shrine for *Laiwa Haipa* they had recently completed or of a recently adopted *lai*.

2 *Sanlai:* for *salai* clan. The Meetei confederacy was formed when the seven clans were amalgamated.

3 Meetei Reima *manghanye*. *Manghanye* from the verb *mangba* which could be either to declare ritually unclean or to destroy. *Hanye* carries with it the sense of a deliberate act by order, to cause the object to be declared ritually unclean or to destroy the object in a deliberate act. If taken in the first sense, this is the first time that a person was declared ritually unclean. In the second sense, the queen was removed or executed.

4 Laiwa Haipa *manghanye*. The divinity was also either declared ritually unclean or destroyed. The meaning 'destroyed' is possible if it means the destruction of the image of the *lai*. The *P. Ms* supports the text of notes 3 and 4, but there are a few variants. The *Deva Ms* reads: *Meetei Lairik manghanye. Nongmata Lai pumnamaksung manghanye.* 'Meetei books (written in Meetei script also called *Puya*) were destroyed. On the same day all the *lais* (divinities) were also destroyed.' The first sentence is supported by a deep-rooted and widely accepted tradition that all the books written in the original Meetei script were destroyed by burning on the order of this king.

The *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (i) reads: *Meetei Leima manghanye. Mongbahanbata Laiwa Haipasu manghanye*. 'Meetei Leima was destroyed (or declared ritually unclean). Laiwa Haipa was also destroyed (or declared ritually unclean) in Monghanpa.' There is no mention of destruction of books. The *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (i) has followed the *P. Ms*.

The *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) reads: 17 *Nongmaiching* (Langpan, August/September) *Meetei lairik maghanye. Mongbahanbada Laiwa Haibasu manghanye*. '17 Sunday, Meetei books were destroyed. Laiwa Haiba also was destroyed at Mongahanba (grove).' Probably *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) were following *Deva Ms* in the first sentence and the *P. Ms* in the second sentence, thereby conflating two sources. Alternatively *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) has altered *Meetei Leima* to *Meetei Lairik.* But in the Meetei script *Reima* or *Leima* could not be mistaken for *Lairik. LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) supports this translation by a footnote that 'in the reign of Garibniwaz, at the instigation of guru Shantidas, all the available Meitei books written in Meitei script were collected after an order which was announced by the town crier on the back of an elephant, and then those books were burnt in front of Uttra in the Kangla.' Sources given are *Miyad* and *Ariba Manipuri Itihas,* both by N.Khelachandra. (On the relationship of these mss see further the Introduction.)

5 *Sakei kheipik yaona: sakei* extended family, *Kheipik* almost all, *yaona* along with. This represents a large-scale ethnic immigration of extended families from Mayang (presentday Bengal, Bangla Desh and Cachar) rather than simply individuals.

Sakabda 1655 (1733 CE)

The year of Saikhom Luwang, Sakabda 1655 (1733 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. Full moon Thursday, there was a lunar eclipse. 27 Tuesday, there was a great flood. The river overflowed by the area of Tokpham. The houses of all those who lived by the Lampun (Nampun river) were submerged. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. It was reckoned as the second day of the lunar month.[1] 17 Monday, Yipungo Syam Sai and Manu Sai Ningthem's younger brother, these two and all those who were fined[2] were displayed at every barricade within the enclosure. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. Lainingthou Phalloukhompa (the divinity), which was made unclean, was ordered to be established once again[3] (and worshipped). 8 Tuesday, the guru left for Aawa.[4] 10 Thursday, because of the scarcity of food Ningthem distributed paddy, sitting by the royal gate, to all the frail and the suffering. The month of **Mera**

(September/October) began on Thursday. 3 Sunday, the Hungtung Haos came and scattered Karong. Thangchapa the *Keirungpa* of brick makers and others were deported to Loi. 18 Sunday, Satpam Cha the *Lakpa* of Khwai died at Chinga. He died with one of his wives.[5] 27 Tuesday, Sicha Tompi was escorted to Haopam. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/ November) began on Saturday. 23 Sunday, carpenter Kapeng the *Keirungpa* died. Thangcha Hanpa Koirempa died at the age of ninety-one years. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. While Khaitem Cha Lamloi the *Hanchapa* of security guards had a temporary stay in a village, and while they were making a fire, the fire burnt his wife the *Hanchapi* and some others. A total of six people died. But the *Hanchapa* survived with burns on his back. 11 Thursday, Haopam Cha Aachou the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms and others left to attack Aokphrun. Hirupam Koireng and others, a total of fifty-one people with another nineteen guides who were the Huining commoners, a grand total of seventy people lost their lives. 16 Friday, those who left to attack Aokphrun returned. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, the guru who left for Aawa returned, as he was denied entry[6] into Aawa. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. The main royal palace was renovated. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday.

1 This was to adjust the lunar calendar of the Meeteis to the solar calendar.

2 Very likely this was a protest led by the king's own younger brother and a son against the imposition of the Hindu religion, Hindu idols and customs. *Sai* had been adopted for the male members of the royal household. First time this term is used as a surname in the royal household.

3 *Lainingthou Phalloukhompa Amarak linghanye: Lainingthou* divine lord, *Phalloukhompa* one over all the earthly thrones and the earth *(phan/phal* throne, *lou* earth). Phalloukhompa is another attribute of the Meetei God Sanamahi, who was not represented by any form of image. This divinity was abandoned and then declared to be restored by order of the king. *Amarak* once again, *linghanye* made to be established by order. *Amarak* written with numerical 1 (*ama* with *rak*).

4, 6 Tradition has it that the guru's name was Shanti Das, a native of present-day Bangla Desh.

5 There was no practice of Hindu *sati*.

Sakabda 1656 (1734 CE)

The year of Khuman Charakpam Lamphen, Sakabda 1656 (1734 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. It was reckoned as the second day of the lunar month. 13 Friday, Ningthem went to Yairipok to hunt elephants. On Sunday full moon he returned. 26 Thursday, those who moved from place to place[1] in the unproductive areas in Moirang *(Moirang Lanhampa)*[2] dredged the river in the area where *Mayang Leimanai* (the servants to the royal ladies) were settled. After the dredging which started from Wuchiwa reached the area of the Mayangs (they) still continued dredging up to Leisangkhong canal. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 25 Friday, a square *sen* (currency) coin was issued. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. Full moon Wednesday, Lai Maharaja and Sana Chingcharoipi were married. 29 Wednesday, Sarotkhaipa Aapok the *Keirungpa* died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 7 Wednesday, Yipungo Yimthangwa and Saukaicham maiden, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei and Satpam maiden, these four were married. 28 Wednesday, Thokchaopa Sanakhon the *Huiroi* was attacked by a tiger on his chin as he was tracking the footprints of a tiger in Koiremkei. The tiger was caught right away.

The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, Sicha Kharoi Ngampi, married into the Haopam family, died. 26 Thursday, Ningthem and Sicha went to Takyen to feast on lotus seeds. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 10 Thursday, the guru and others started off with horses, elephants and guns up to Lanching. 12 Saturday, the singers sang the *yakeipa*[3] in praise of Ningthem, mentioning all his achievements and deeds of valour. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, Ngathem Sekompa and Sinmam Ngaikhompa, these two tried to fly but they failed and so they were deported to the salt well in Panlen.[4] 11 Monday, Ningthem left to attack Takhen. Captured Musuklai of Takhen, who was at Roskon in Langlong. Scattered Langlong. They built a bridge over the Gwai (river) and crossed the river. They marched right up to the top of the Mangaitang mountain range. They completed building the army camp at Sekchai where the Gwai, Tuyai and Wakonok, these three (rivers) converged. They defeated Takhen. Scattered Chainu. Satrachit, Tonaran and others and also the areas in Takhen where the Charai people settled were all made tributaries.[5] All those from Takhen who were subjugated came to bow down to Ningthem. They felled a tree to make a boat by the side of the river Tuwai Yirong and following the course of the river Gwai, and riding in the fast barge, Ningthem went to the area where Ram and Lokhon were housed and worshipped them. The boat capsized on their return trip and they lost one Konareng spear (and) a royal smoking pot.[6] They placed a stone at Yirong. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. 7 Monday, Ningthem returned from his attack on Takhen. They killed one person and took 1,100 people alive as prisoners. 20 Saturday, Ningthem's great palace was set alight. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, Yipungo Syam Sai, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei, these two and others left to attack the area of the Kapuis. 7 Tuesday, Sicha Tompi who was married to the Haopam family caught three wild elephants in Chairen. Yipungo Syam Sai and Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei returned from their attack on the Kapuis. All those who followed the Ramanti (faith) were fined.[7] On the new moon Thursday one ambassador from the Mayang, who was also the adviser to his king, and others, a total of eighty people, came with presents to Ningthem for attacking Takhen, saying that they had not presented anything earlier to Ningthem.

1–2 *Moirang Lanhampa yumthangpa:* Moirang, place name in the south of Imphal. *Lanhampa: lan* wealth, *hampa:* empty, unproductive areas in Moirang. *Yumthangpa:* from *yum* house, *thangpa* to move, meaning those who moved from place to place and who used the slash-and-burn method of cultivation.

3 *Yakeipa/ba* song: normally sung as an *aubade* to the *lai* at the Lai Haraoba; now since the king was addressed as *lai* or divine, what was due to the divinity was done to the human king. The importance and status of the human king have increased. The term used for king is Ningthem.

4 Panlen salt well: probably present-day Palel.

5 Takhen became a tribute-paying country and Manipur's western boundary extended beyond the present one.

6 *Hidakphu khutong: Hidakphu* the complete set used in smoking pot. *Khutong:* from *khut* hand, *tong* from *tongba* to sit on. The pot held by hand. *Khutong* became the polite term for pot smoking.

7 This seems inconsistent, as the king himself had just called at the shrine of Ram and Lokhon on his way back from his attack of Takhen. The Ramandi cult may have been a pretext for political opposition.

Sakabda 1657 (1735 CE)

The year of Lokrakpampa, Sakabda 1657 (1735 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 7 Thursday, Bamon Narakhyan[1] died along with his two wives.[2] 18 Thursday, they cremated the remains[3] of Ningthem Khakempa. 19 Monday, Sicha Takhen Ngampi the Haopam maiden died. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. 6 Thursday, Wayenpam Cha the *Nongthonpa* died. He died along with his two wives.[4] The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. They began to build the army barracks as well as night dormitories for the soldiers on duty. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. It was taken as the second day of the lunar month. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. 10 Saturday, they erected a wooden barricade by the bank of the Thangkapat moat (by the palace). The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 10 Monday, they set off with horses and elephants as they were on their way to attack Metu. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 12 Sunday, Ningthem left to attack Metu. 27 Sunday, the guru and Ningthem proceeded to Metu from Thangpicharou. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 4 Tuesday, Ningthem returned. Captured 130 people alive in battle. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday. 5 Friday, they began to build (a house) for Lai Kangla. 13 Friday, emissaries from Takhen arrived. The guru and Moirang Yumthangpa dug a new salt well at Sikong Ningngen. 17 Tuesday, they caught an elephant which had grown tusks at Yairipok. The month of Lamta (February/March) began on Tuesday.[5] 3 Monday, Pamon Kesok and Horinaran, these two and others left to immerse themselves in the river Ganges.[6]

1 *Bamon Narakhyan*. This is the first time a letter for *khy* is used.

2, 4 This may be an attempt to introduce the practice of *sati*. The first case is of a migrant Hindu brahmin and the second is that of a Meetei who must have taken the Hindu religion.

3 Khakempa died in Sak. 1574 (1652 CE). His remains from the secondary burial are now cremated according to the Hindu rites.

5 Lamta (February/March). This month has two entries. Either a scribal error or an attempt to synchronise the lunar calendar of the Meeteis with the solar calendar.

6 Kangkata: Kangka, the river Ganges, *ta* (postposition). This is the first record of this practice being adopted by the people of Manipur.

Sakabda 1658 (1736 CE)

The year of Bamon Gangkaram, Sakabda 1658 (1736 CE). 29 Tuesday, Brahmahachari the guru of the Mayang king arrived. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 20 Tuesday, five tigers were caught at Nungkei. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, all those who were followers of Ramanti[1] were fined. All the Bamons

ran away to Mayang. All the princes and the kings' brothers lost their posts. Most of them were sent to prison.[2] 8 Saturday, a tiger was caught at Aasei Loklen ravine. 27 Thursday, three tigers were caught at Lairikyengpa Konchin. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. It was taken as the second day of the lunar month. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 11 Sunday, the guru left to establish a market. 22 Friday, the section of the river by Thanghutwa was filled in. The month of **Hyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. Yipungo Thangka Sai married a Haobam maiden. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 14 Tuesday, emissaries along with a person who was skilled in sericulture[3] arrived from Khaki. 28 Monday, the guru dug a salt well] Lokpaching. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. 9 Saturday, there was a comet in the western sky. 13 Wednesday, Ningthem began to build the great palace. It was made with cross-beams on the roof.[4] The thatch eaves were held together in between bamboo strips. This style of thatched roofing also began at this time. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. On Saturday full moon there was a lunar eclipse. Hakwan Thempa who tried to gain knowledge of sorcery[5] and Cheksa the *Hanchapa* of Changangkei granary, these two tried to stop the eclipse but they failed. 22 Saturday, the guru and Yipungo Sana Aahan, these two left for Moirang to hunt elephants. Captured eleven elephants. The month of **Sachiphu**[6] (March/April) began on Monday. Sana Aahan returned. 4 Thursday, the guru returned. 9 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti*[7] of Lamta.

1 Ramanti. Earlier on even the king himself adopted this cult.

2 A conflict between the older Rama followers who did not accept the newly adopted Krishna Vaishnavite to which the king had now given his allegiance. More likely the sect was adopted by political enemies of the king.

3 *phira thapa: phira* most likely meaning *silk*, as *phike* refers to silk cloth, *thapa* to plant. Manipur was well known for its silk clothes and this man is described as coming from Khaki (possibly China), where sericulture originated.

4 *sarong lamlen:* cross-beams in the shape of bulls' horns attached to the front of the house on the roof, used normally in the *lai's* shrine.

5 *Laiwathipa:* in search of sorcery. Two men tried to stop the lunar eclipse with the help of sorcery. May reflect different groups of astrologers.

6 The style of entry is different, in that the first month of the succeeding year is entered before the introduction of the year. The following year no longer begins in Sachiphu (March/April). May be an attempt to replace the Meetei lunar calendar with the full solar calendar.

7 *Sangkranti:* the last day before the sun passes from one of the signs of the zodiac to the next. This term is used for the first time.

Sakabda 1659 (1737 CE)

The year of Khetri[1] **Gotathon, Sakabda 1659 (1737 CE).** On Monday full moon Ningthem inaugurated the great palace. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 14 Monday, the guard at Kangla who was a hunchback and the lame were taken to the market-place and they were made to join in the game of hockey, a foot race,[2] play games with a cloth ball[3] and perform the long jump[4] in the presence of Ninghtem. 17 Thursday, Sicha's younger sister who was married into Huirongpam family was escorted to Yipungo Gangka Bishnu.[5] 22 Tuesday Pamon Thaba arrived. 24 Thursday, Ningthem

and Sicha inspected Chingmeirong. 28 Monday, all those living in Khwai lane raided Singchen and it was reported[6] to Ningthem. (They were) rewarded with an elephant. There was an epidemic of smallpox in the month of Kalen. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. The inhabitants of three lanes reported (about their raids). Ningthem rewarded the inhabitants of each lane with one elephant. 19 Sunday, four tigers were caught in Chakha Lokchao ravine. They also caught a deer. 21 Tuesday, Yipungo Lee Sai, who was born of Haopam Maiden Leimakhupi the *Hanjapi,* died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 25 Wednesday, people of Moirang Lanhampa and others left to attack Maching Marak. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. It was taken as the second day of the lunar month. 13 Saturday, the guru and Yipungo Aatonpa left for Moirang to hunt elephants. 24 Wednesday, the people of Moirang Lanhampa returned. 27 Saturday, the guru also returned. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. 10 Thursday, Chaoren started off to invade Aacha. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 12 Monday, Khaitem Lamloi the *Hanchapa* of security guards died when he was thrown down by some other people when they commenced the Institute building. Full moon Thursday, the Maharaja and others, a total of 300 people, took the sacred thread.[7] The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. Saturday the ninth day of the lunar month, a wooden signpost was erected in the middle of a road. 11 Tuesday, the guru and Yipungo Syam Sai, these two and others left to attack Aawa. 17 Monday, Yipungo Sana Aahan and Haopam Cha the *Pukhranpa,* these two and others left to attack Aawa. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, both Khapham and Laipham *(Panas)* returned after attacking Aawa. 3 Tuesday, Yipungo Sanahan and the *Pukhranpa* returned. The people of Moirang Lanhampa who went to dredge the irrigation channel in the paddy fields in Somsok also returned. 7 Saturday, they scattered the Aawa army camp at Maching and captured twenty people alive and killed 327 people. 10 Tuesday, the Aawas sent the guru (to the Meeteis) with a message pleading to be on good terms. 17 Wednesday, all the farmers of the four *panas* collected all the rice from all the places up to Pansa. 22 Sunday, the Pamon who went to immerse themselves in the river Ganges[8] returned. 28 Saturday, Thongai the *Keirungpa* in charge of the servants to the royal ladies died. He died with two of his wives. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday, they went to open up roads in the area of Moirang Lanhampa. 6 Sunday, Ningthem left to attack Aacha. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 14 Wednesday, both the guru and Ningthem arrived at Thangbicharou. They captured many people and took much booty in the raid. 18 Sunday, Ningthem's great palace was set alight. The month **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, the guru left to establish Langlong (village). 10 Sunday, Yipungo Syam Sai left for Karong to oversee the boring of a salt well. 19 Tuesday, he returned.

1 *Khetri:* for *Kshetri,* term used for the first time.

2 *Chengpi:* for *chenpi/bi* foot race.

3 *Phipun:* cloth ball. Catching the ball as was normally played by children.

4 *Mangchongnapa:* long jump. To let the disabled take part in the above-mentioned games as well as hockey publicly in the presence of the king was not only the introduction of disabled sports but perhaps also to encourage the disabled to participate fully in all the communal activities. They were also employed rather than left as different. No hint of mockery is indicated.

5 Escorted to Yipungo Gangka Bisnu: meaning uncertain, since the maiden was already married. But it could be the remarriage of a divorcee. As widow remarriage was practised this would not be a contradiction.

6 *Lakkaiye.* Meaning uncertain, conflation of two words, *lak* from *lakpa* to come, *kaiye* from *kaba* to report to. Past perfect of *lakpa* and *kaba*. Came and reported.

7 This is the second time the king took the sacred thread. Tradition has it that this occasion was also called *Nongkhrang Luppa,* meaning those who took the thread immersed themselves in the river, each holding a branch of the nongkhrang plant to symbolise that they would not renounce Hinduism. Nongkhrang is a small evergreen shrub which grows wild in great abundance by the river banks. The implication was that so long as this shrub grows, the oaths made by these people were binding. *Nongkhrang* thus became a symbol of this oath of becoming Hindu. According to Meetei tradition, taking the oath is a serious act, binding for generations, and it is believed also that calamity will occur when any oath is not kept. In order to free future generations from the bond of this oath, on 6 October 1974 King Okendrajit of Manipur initiated the revocation rite *Nongkhrang Parei Hanba* ('the undoing of the bond of oath') with the leading *Maichous* (palace scholars), *Maibas* and *Maibis* (religious functionaries from the Palace Institutes of Maibis and Maibas), in which a select group of them immersed in the same manner holding *nongkhrang* branches, in the same river, at the same spot, in the same lunar month and at the same hour where the enforced oath-taking took place, but in order to reverse and to undo the oath on behalf of all the people.

8 Gangga: spelt differently form the previous entry (Kangka, Sak. 1657).

Sakabda 1660 (1738 CE)

The year of Thingpaicham Karu, Sakabda 1660 (1738 CE). The month of **Kalen** (April/May)[1] began on Sunday. 2 Monday, the portion of the river on the opposite side of Loklaopung was blocked up. 14 Saturday, Yipi Hidaksungpi along with Ningthem escorted Sicha their daughter to be the wife of the guru.[2] The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 10 Wednesday, the Meetei Leima Paikhu Lanthabi was demoted. Full moon Monday, Meetei Leima the Moirangthem maiden was promoted to the throne. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 5 Sunday, most of the people in the country were made[3] to take the sacred thread. 10 Friday, they also wrote the genealogy of the seven *sanlais*. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 3 Sunday, Ningthem and Sicha went to Leimaching to feast on lotus seeds. The month of Langpan (August/September) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, they dredged the boat's course in Mangsamkei. They also repaired the road by raising the ground level. 5 Wednesday, they also made the plinth for the royal palace. 23 Saturday, they cut down a portion of the barricade at Sakonpan and dug a course for the boat. The month of **Langpan**[4] (August/September) began on Sunday. 17 Monday, the guru left to hunt elephants at Moirang. 27 Friday, he returned. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. Many Mayangs died. 20 Monday, the Moirangthem maiden was demoted. The month of **Poinu**[5] (November/December) began on Friday. 5 Monday, Meetei Reima the Wapam maiden was once again promoted to the throne. 11 Sunday, the guru and others who went to raid Aawa returned. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. Full moon Saturday, there was a lunar eclipse. 29 Saturday, the guru and Yipungo Syam Sai returned after attacking Aawa. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 10 Wednesday, the Moirangthem maiden[6] gave birth to a prince. 15 Wednesday, Ningthem began to build the great palace. The month of **Lamta**

(February/March) began on Tuesday. Matu Niranjon left to give a reply to Petruk.[7] 5 Saturday, they began to build the guru's house. 9 Thursday, Yimthangpa the *Nongthonpa* left to repair the Kapo road. 29 Tuesday, the Pongs came and requested that Aawa be attacked.

1 The entry starts from Kalen (April/May), the second month of the lunar year. The first month was entered under the previous year, as was the case in the entry of Sak. 1659. Either this was a change in style or an attempt to change the Meetei lunar months to the Sakabda calendar.

2 The guru is given one of the king's daughters as his wife. If the guru was a Brahmin he was marrying outside his caste, as was common in Manipur later.

3 *thangpiye:* from verb *thangpa* to carry as in carrying heavy loads. Literally 'to carry the sacred thread'. The verb form used in this sentence, *thangpiye*, is passive. *pi* indicates an element of kindness towards the one to whom the act is directed. It also implies that the act is being done to one of a lower position by one of a higher status, as an indication of a kind gesture, an act of grace from the king. *ye* a completed act. The verb also implies an element of force or persuasion being used by the king as a graceful act. It does not give the idea of the participants' wholehearted acceptance.

4 *Langpan* is entered twice, presumably an intercalary month.

5 *Hiyangkei:* has been missed out.

6 The same wife was promoted to the throne in Yinga (May/June) and demoted in Mera (September/October) and now she gives birth to a prince.

7 There is no indication who or where Petruk was. May be a scribal error for Pong, which has asked for help against Aawa.

Sakabda 1661 (1739 CE)

The year of Langpoklakpam Moirampa, Sakabda 1661 (1739 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 18 Sunday, the Pongs went back. The Aawa emissaries also arrived. 29 Wednesday, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left for Karong (to oversee) the boring of a salt well. The month of **Kalen** (April/ May) began on Friday. 8 Saturday, Ningthem and Sicha went to Mongsamkei to inspect the area. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 5 Thursday, (some) including Ningthem took *pramartha tharma*.[1] The month of **Yingen** (June/ July) began on Monday. 3 Thursday, Haopam Cha the *Senlungpa* and Huirongpam maiden were married. 5 Saturday, Yipungo Thangka Sai and others took the sacred thread. Also many who were told not to take the sacred thread[2] did take it. Full moon Monday, there was a lunar eclipse. 20 Saturday, Sicha Tampa who was married into the Haopam family went to Thangka on a raft to feast on fruit. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 4 Saturday, there was a flood. 20 Sunday, the Pongs arrived with a reply to an earlier message. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. 23 Friday, the guru, Ningthem and the two emissaries from Pong who arrived with the reply (to an earlier message) went to Hiyangthang to feast on fruit. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, Sicha Paikhu Lanthapi's child died. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. Full moon Monday, the Pong (emissaries) left. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 13 Friday, Ningthem left to attack Chekhang. The month of **Wakching** (December/ January) began on Thursday. 3 Saturday, Thangjam Chothe was murdered in the fish auction market. 15 Wednesday, a star went behind the moon. After five *Meetei pungs* (hours) it appeared on the northern

side (of the moon).[3] Immediately there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Friday. 10 Sunday, the residents of one of the lanes[4] who left to capture the village of Keiren returned. 11 Monday, the elder brother of the king of Pong was made the king of Pong.[5] The gifts which Ningthem left to the king of Pong included the palanquin *Taprangngampa* and everything that was required for a king, all the attire, without withholding anything. 26 Tuesday, Ningthem returned from Chekang[6] after his invasion of Aawa. He took a large amount of booty.[7] The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday. 5 Wednesday, one *sanyasi* arrived from the land of Takhen. 28 Friday, as it was said that a Bamon female died while Aawa was being attacked and set alight, Ningthem and others took the Hindu ritual cleansing rite.[8]

1 *Pramartha tharma:* for *paramartha dharma* of the Hindus, attaining *moksha* by means of asceticism. Whether the king himself took this step is doubtful, since the king engaged in warfare, and a prince was born after this rite was taken.

2 This sentence is not explicit as to who opposed the taking of the sacred thread.

3 *Awanglam.* It could either be northern sky or on the north of the moon; possibly occultation (by the moon) of Jupiter.

4 *Leikaina: leikai* lane, lit. 'by the lane'. Name of the lane or the area is not given.

5 Either the rightful king of Pong was reinstated with the help of the Meetei king or a new king had succeeded. In this case there was no rule of primogeniture in Pong (similar to Manipur, where younger brothers often succeeded.)

6–7 Chekang: for Saigang, the ancient capital of Aawa. *Ningthourol Lambuba* gives a much fuller record of this invasion. Lieutenant-colonel Burney, quoting the annals of Burma and Burmese historians, records that the king 'without stopping attacked and carried the stockaded positions around the ancient capital of Sagaing, of which he obtained possession'. *Ningthourol Lambuba* and E.W.Dun give a list of the booty which was collected. The *LI. & NK. Ch.K.* (ii) expands considerably, within the text, at this point.

8 *Papkokpiye.* The term means 'were forgiven of their sins'. In this case what was done was to be ritually cleansed as it was regarded that the death of a female brahmin in the fire had brought defilement.

Sakabda 1662 (1740 CE)

The year of Moirang Koireng, Sakabda 1662 (1740 CE). The month of **Sachiphu**[1] (March/April) began on Monday. On the full moon Tuesday (the king) sent two elephants as a gift to (the king of) Pong. 18 Friday, Awompa from Takhen was killed as he killed his son.[2] The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 21 Tuesday, lightning struck the market-place and killed one male Hao. All those who were followers of the Nimanti faith were fined. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 3 Saturday, Ningthem's youngest brother who went to receive elephants from Mayang arrived with two elephants which had tusks, together with the guru of the king of Mayang. 19 Wednesday, Hanpa the king of Pong arrived with his wife. They were housed at Karthong. New moon Friday, there was a boat race between the *lai* in one boat, the guru in another, Ningthem in one and the king of Pong in yet another boat. In the month of **Yingen** (June/July), on the first day of the lunar month, Khekhompa the king of Pong and Ningthem sat at court (at Kuchu) and the king of Pong presented Ningthem with a gift which had supernatural power.[3] 10 Monday, Yipungo Laingampa and the Aangom maiden were married. What was presented to the king of Pong included a palanquin named Taprangngampa, one white *sekpin* (canopy), one golden sword and all

the other items that were required for a king, and nothing was withheld. 14 Friday, both the king of Pong and his wife left. The great palace was set alight. 18 Tuesday, Ningthem and Sicha went down to Nungkei to see[4] the king of Pong off and waited. They also feasted on mangoes. New moon Saturday, Sicha married into the Wapam family died. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 22 Sunday, Yipungo Syam Sai's grandmother the Aarampam Hanchapi died. 26 Thursday, the *Hanchapa* from the Nganglom family who was in charge of pot smoking died. His wife Hanchapi died along with her husband, embracing him. 29 Sunday, Yipi (the king's wife) gave birth to a prince. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, it was rumoured that tigers were roaming around. There were no tigers. 23 Tuesday a tiger was caught at Heiromkhong canal. It was displayed in the market-place. 24 Wednesday, Ningthem and the Sicha came out and inspected the tiger. It was given to the elephant to be tossed about. 28 Sunday, Ningthem himself went and caught a tiger. Thouteicham Kongyampa and Aapucham Aatonpa both died as a tiger bit them. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. Friday the first day of the lunar month, Yipungo Syam Sai's house was set alight. 29 Wednesday, many emissaries from the king of Pong arrived. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 12 Tuesday, Aangoupampa Kongyampa died. 29 Friday, Ningthem went to the market and scattered 5,000 square coins.[5] The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. It rained with loud crackling of thunder. The people of Kontha brought and presented to Ningthem hailstones as big as a huge water pitcher. Monday the first day of the lunar month, Angoupanpa Puranthapa ascended the throne (of Aangom.) 11 Tuesday, Ningthem set out[6] to attack Aawa and halted at Pukhri. 14 Friday, Ningngonpam Kekru's cow gave birth to Siamese twin calves joined at the buttocks. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday, Ningthem left to invade Aawa. 15 Sunday, there was a lunar eclipse. 25 Thursday, it was reported that the Aawa army which marched to the Yipan area and another (Aawa) army which marched to the Metu area, both fled of their own accord (before fighting began). The month of **Phairen** (Januay/February) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, all the Marings from all the villages along the mountain ranges joined together and burnt down the villages of Thumkhong Panlen, Langathen, the main village of Kakching and the village of Heirok, all these four villages were set alight. The people of Kakching caught one Maring, but the Marings killed 105 people. 28 Sunday, there was fighting with Aawa. On the fourth day of the lunar month of **Lamta** (February/March) Haopam Cha the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms left to repel the Marings. 9 Wednesday, some people of Aawa were captured. 10 Thursday, the *Mantri*[7] and others left to attack the Marings. 13 Sunday, the centre of the ridge of the Kangla building was extended towards the front by one *khupom*.[8] They also altered the wooden frame on the north-eastern portion of the building. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, the eldest son of the king of Mayang arrived to stay with his wife's family.[9] 3 Saturday, Ningthem returned from (his invasion of) Metu. 9 Friday, Yimnam Aaroi the *Potsangpa* and one of his men, Tampaknai Haopa and Ningngonpam Maichou, these four men after having agreed to meet in the forest in Aawa, reached Ningthem by taking the track through the area of Aanal since they could not go through the area of the Marings as the track was closed (to them). 12 Monday, news reached (the land) of the invasion of Aawa. 17 Saturday, Ningthem returned to Naranpa after attacking Aawa. 23 Friday, the *Mantri*, Yipungo

Sanahal the *Lakpa* of Khurai and many other people from the land set out to attack the Marings. 24 Saturday Lamta, was the *Sangkranti* of that month. 25 Sunday, Yirom Tenloi the *Hitang* of archers and Haochao died as they were shot by the arrows of the Marings. 26 Monday, (they fought against) the three villages of Khunpi, Lamlong and Karthong. The month of **Lamta** (February/March)[10] began on Saturday. 3 Monday, the person who followed the Mayang prince arrived with an elephant. 9 Saturday, the guru and others who went to attack the Marings arrived. 10 Monday, one *Meetei pung* (hour) before daybreak, lightning struck the kitchen of Laiwa Haipa. 19 Thursday, the son of the Mayang king (who came to stay with his wife) went back.

1 After a change in the style of entering for a few years the old style has been resumed.

2 *Takhen Awompu macha hatna siye.* The suffix *pu* indicates that Aompa was killed. But *macha hatna* (*macha* son or child, *hatna* from *hatpa* to kill, *na* (conditional) on account of) can be read as either 'Awompu died (punished with death) as he had killed his son' or 'Awompu died as his son had killed him'. In the latter case there is no suffix *na* attached to *macha* to indicate *macha* as the subject.

3 *yai.* This does not necessarily indicate magic but could refer to having some medicinal value.

4 *Thinthokpa:* to see one off. The Meeteis had the custom of escorting a visitor back and sometimes for a very long distance.

5 Scattered coins. This was a new custom and is practised even to the present day.

6 *Chatra touba: Chatra* for *Jatra* (Sanskrit) to set out at an auspicious time, sometimes without actually making the journey. This practice came in after Hinduism was introduced.

7 *Mantri:* Sanskrit term for prime minister. First time the term is used.

8 *Khupom:* the measurement of the calf of an adult. Measurements were taken by using human body parts.

9 *yawong inpa:* a custom among the Meeteis where the groom lives in the parental home of the bride. The stay could be of a permanent nature or temporary. Except in cases where the wife is the only child of her parents the groom is often looked down upon. This may be a trace of a matriarchal custom. First time the term is used.

10 The month of Lamta has been counted twice to synchronise with the Sakabda calendar.

Sakabda 1663 (1741 CE)

The year of Kapo Laseng, Sakabda 1663 (1741 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 24 Monday was the *Cheiraopa,* the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 29 Friday, Aangom Cha Khongchompa left to negotiate with the Marings. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began Sunday. On the first day of the lunar month, Aaroi who went to Pong returned. 3 Tuesday, Yumlenpa the *Hanchapa* of elephant grooms returned after having escorted the Mayang king's son. 7 Saturday, (a reorganisation in the administration was made by) amalgamating certain institutes to the four *panas*. Aachoipa was amalgamated to the Laipham *(Pana),* Aakhanpa to the Aahanlup *(Pana),* Tampaknai Aakhanpa to the Khapham *(Pana)* and Ningthou Sangkhupa to the Naharup *(Pana)*. 16 Friday, the Aawa emissary Nantusra arrived. 21 Saturday, the Aawa emissary Nantusra and others (who were received) sat together and fruit was served to them. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 7 Sunday, the Aawas were received at court at Kangla. Aangom Cha the *Khongchompa* accompanied them[1] in the fast barge as they left. 10 Thursday, the (second) Aawa emissary who came later was received at court and they were expelled and made to return[2] immediately. 21 Monday, a solemn oath was made with the Marings by pulling

apart the intestines of a dog.[3] The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday. 22 Wednesday, four royal temporary houses which were built in the place where the Mangkan Institute building stood were set alight. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday. Yingen was taken as two months.[4] 3 Saturday, it was reported that nine Haos from Chothe Paya had been abducted by the Khongchai (tribe). 4 Monday, Thangchapi the *Senapati's* mother died. 10 Sunday, the royal temporary house was inaugurated. On the same day Mahi Panlo's younger brother[5] arrived saying that his brother had been murdered. 22 Thursday, a man came of his own accord saying that he had subdued Thang Nungtek.[6] 27 Tuesday, Pamon Chantrathan the *Hanchapa* died. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 17 Monday, they built the plinth for the main royal palace. On that day all the inhabitants of the village, the subjects of the king left for the foothills of Nogphou hill to fell trees. 18 Tuesday, it was heard that Aangom Cha Khongchompa and an emissary from Aawa had arrived to ask for the hand of a Meetei princess in marriage. 29 Friday, a strong wind broke the Lairen Institute building and seven people were injured. On that very day Panchanan the brother of the guru who was married, who went to immerse himself in the river Ganges, returned. On the new moon Sunday the Yaisa Institute building collapsed and buried the *Yaisa*.[7] The month of **Langpan** (August/ September) began on Monday. Yimkhaipa Kontha had his ears pierced. 10 Wednesday, Aangom Cha Khongchompa and the Aawa emissary who came to ask for the hand of a Meetei princess arrived with a gold-plated palanquin. 18 Wednesday, the Aawa emissary was received at court. 29 Sunday, all the subjects (of the king) and officials from the four *panas* left for Suknu, led by Wangkhei Cha Khongchompa the *Hitang*, to fell trees for the main royal palace building. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. On the first day of the lunar month those who went to Nongphou to fell trees returned. The month of **Poinu** (November/ December) began on Saturday. On the first day of the lunar month the brother of the king of Pong, the emissary from Mayang and the guru were received at court (by the king). 9 Saturday, Ningthem along with his Sicha spent (a few days) in Thangpicharou.[8] 20 Wednesday, Usapa the chief of the village died. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 7 Saturday, Aangoupampa Puranthapa was demoted. 20 Thursday, they began to build the main royal palace. It was a three-storey building. 24 Tuesday, the people of Khaki brought and presented a white rabbit to Ningthem. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, five people were injured as they were building the main royal palace. One died. 10 Wednesday, Yipi Chingakhanpi's (son) Gotathon Sai Yaikhupa Mahare Sai[9] was married to Haopam maiden the daughter of Haopam, the *Hanchapa* of the horse grooms. 12 Friday, a royal lady who lived in Changoupung was sent away. 19 Friday, the Aawa (emissary) came to ask for the hand of a Meetei royal lady in marriage. 20 Saturday a comet appeared. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, they began to build the outhouse in Utra. 16 Thursday, the wife of Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Khurai died. The temple which belonged to Wayenpam, the parental home of the queen, was pulled down.

1 *changminneiye:* entered together. In this context either they came together into the presence of the king or they returned together. As a second envoy from Aawa also arrived, the phrase refers to the first group leaving the country.

2 *Tansinkhiye:* past tense of *tanba* to order to go or to repel; ending *sinkhiye* implies an order to go back where they came from. Presumably this was a rival embassy to the first one.

3 *Huirin thatye:* past tense of *Huirin thatpa, huirin* intestines of a dog, *thatpa* to tear apart. The phrase refers to oath taking between two parties in which the intestines of a dog are pulled apart by the two parties who are taking the oath. The implication is that should one party break the oath, the injured party had the moral right to do exactly what was done to the dog. This oath is binding even between the descendants of the parties. First time the phrase is used.
4 One lunar month is taken as two months in order to synchronise with the Hindu calendar.
5 No indication who this person was.
6 Meaning obscure.
7 *Yaisa.* The term means precious beast with supernatural qualities. It is used for the king's personal horse, which is chosen on its qualities from all the other horses.
8 Thangpicharou: scribal spelling correction in the text.
9 No clear indication if Gotathon and Yaikhuba are two brothers or two names for the same person. Nor is the meaning made any clearer since the maiden married is not indicated by name or names, and since there is no plural form.

Sakabda 1664 (1742 CE)

The year of Suknu Kyampa, Sakabda 1664 (1742 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 6 Tuesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 14 Thursday, Rakhunat along with four Mayangs who had arrived recently, and another four who claimed that they could make guns, these eight and some others, a total of thirteen people, left. 18 Monday,[1] there was an earthquake. 21 Thursday, Keiya the *Lakpa* of Kapo arrived. 24 Sunday, a man from Yumnam was sent to sieve gold for having abused two of his younger sisters by kicking them. The man was sent to Pasari. 25 Monday, Keiya the *Lakpa* was received at court at Kangla. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday, Keiya the *Lakpa* was received at the pond and an exchange of gifts of swords and a canopy was made. 13 Thursday, Ningthem's younger brother the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei died. 15 Saturday, there was a lunar eclipse. Monday was the second day of the lunar month of **Yinga** (May/June). The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, Laipham *(Pana)* had a boat race amongst themselves. Ningthem was present. 8 Wednesday, all those who were followers of Nimanti and who were fined on account of it were also deported to *Loi*. Kshetri Cheityanya, Pramani Saikhom Langmei and Khaitem Norotom were among those who were deported to *Loi*. 11 Saturday,[2] Nigthem and Sicha inspected the area of Mangsamkei. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. 10 Sunday, Khaitem Yiratlangpa the *Hanchapa* died. Twelve Marings who came down to (the plains in) Keiroi were captured. 19 Tuesday, the Marings came with *senpung* and *senmang*[3] and begged to spare the lives of those who were captured. 29 Thursday, after the night *yuthak*[4] at five Meetei *pung* (hour)[5] there was an earthquake. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, there was earth tremor at noon. Then again there was another tremor as the market was getting very full and crowded,[6] and then yet again in the night. There were three earth tremors on that day. 4 Tuesday, as it was reported that Keipi had assaulted Liklai by beating him, Keipi was deported to *Loi* at Suknu. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/ November) began on Monday. 15 Monday, there was a lunar eclipse. 17 Wednesday, they began to build the Naharup Institute building. The month of **Poinu** (November/ December) began on Wednesday. 4 Saturday, (the building) at the

Thangcham homestead was inaugurated. 8 Wednesday, it was agreed that when a servant or a beast runs away no one else should keep either of them.[7] 17 Thursday, Ningthem and most of the people of the land agreed that they would complete the dredging of the river, and they allotted two whole days to spend on the task at a particular area. 19 Saturday, as the guru fled and reached the area of Khwairampan, Ningthem bowed down before him and he returned.[8] 21 Monday, they began to (dredge) the river. They also inaugurated the Naharup Institute building. 22 Tuesday, Ningthem and Sicha went to supervise the storing of paddy at Mangsamgkei and returned right away on the same day and spent the night at Sagaiprou. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. 24 Thursday, all the inhabitants of the villages, the subjects of the king dug the irrigation channel in the paddy fields at Yairou. 26 Saturday, the keeper of the granary from Mayang along with the Muchumtar of Lakhipur and others, a total of fifty-six people, arrived.[9] The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, one elephant which had grown tusks was caught at Yairipok and was brought (to the king). 8 Saturday, there was fire at Wangkon (hill). 10 Monday, the guru set out to attack the Khongchais. 12 Wednesday, the Mayangs were received at court in the main royal palace. 22 Friday, two servants from the family of Nakappa who accompanied the royal lady married to the Aawa king, and a man from the Pukhranpam family, these three who fled Aawa arrived. 23 Saturday, the guru who went to attack the Khongchais returned. Monday, Mukunda[10] who stayed in the *Sangsang* (rest house) left to call out the Mayang king. 18 Friday, a temporary shelter was built in the homestead of Thangcham (and the family moved there). The family house was repaired right away. Sunday the new moon, the guru left to dig the salt well at Ningngen. On that day the guru's temple and house were set alight. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. On the first day of the lunar month there was an earthquake at midnight. 5 Friday, they began to build the Naharup Institute building. It had bell metal decorations. 15 Sunday, lightning struck the ground in front of the Aakhan Institute building which was by the Aayompa market, and injured eight people. One woman died (in the ruins) where the Yimchao Leima's[11] shrine used to be.

1 18 Monday: scribal correction in the text.

2 11 Saturday: Saturday, scribal correction.

3 *senpung* and *senman: senpung,* a gong with a boss in the middle made of bell metal. The boss is where the gong is struck; *senman:* conflation of two words, *sen* currency, *man* for *maman* price. The price on the captured in *sen* coin, which was the currency, a sort of redemption price.

4–5 *numitang yuthak matung pung 5 ta:* lit. at the fifth *pung* or *Meetei* hour after the night *yuthak.* Night *yuthak* was equivalent to 9.00 p.m. Western time and the *fifth pung* is twenty-two minutes thirty seconds times five, after 9.00 p.m., which will be fifty-two minutes and thirty seconds after 10.00 p.m. Western time. First time the exact time of the earthquake is given.

6 Normally the market becomes full by the middle of the afternoon.

7 *Yanakanuse:* a negative term meaning 'agreed to decline to accept'.

8 First time such an act by the king is recorded.

9 fifty-six people arrived: immigrants.

10 Mukunda: the letter d is introduced in term Mukunda, Bengali proper name.

11 The former guardian *lai* of the market.

Additional note: Meetei time reckoning

Yuthak. The Meeteis had their own system of reckoning time. One whole day *(singpum)* consisted of eight *yuthaks*, and the day started and ended at daybreak. Each *yuthak* consisted of eight *punglups* or *pungs*, the Meetei hours. The *pungs* were not counted in a continuous manner for the whole day as in the Western system. Each *yutkak's pungs* were counted within the *yuthak*.

The eight *yuthaks* were: daybreak (six in the morning), morning (nine in the morning), noon (twelve noon), afternoon (three in the afternoon), dusk (six in the afternoon), night (nine at night), midnight (twelve midnight), pre-dawn (three after midnight). *Yuthak* is a conflation of two words, *yu* local rice beer, *thak* from *thakpa* to drink, possibly in this context a break from duty.

Punglup literally means complete immersion and the term *pung* (Meetei hour) possibly is the short form of this complete immersion. A *pung* was counted by means of a water clock, where a little empty bowl with a hole in the bottom was placed in a larger bowl of water. The length of time it took the small bowl to become completely immersed in the water was reckoned as one Meetei *pung* (from *punglup lupppa* complete immersion). There is also a wooden frame on which two figures, male and female, Yangdoupa and Yangdoupi (each 19.5 cm tall), are threaded at opposite ends with a wire with eight *Kangkhin* seeds between them. With the help of a device used as two pulleys, whenever the bowl gets completely immersed, one of the figures passes one of the seeds. This completes one *pung*. When all the eight seeds are thus passed, the two figures meet in the middle. This meeting takes place at the completion of the eighth *pung*. This makes one *yuthak*. At the completion of each *pung* and *yuthak*, the time was announced by striking a Meetei drum also called *pung*. The manner of striking the *pung* and *yuthak* were different.

One Meetei *pung* is equivalent to twenty-two and a half Western minutes or twenty-two minutes and thirty seconds.

The hourly vigil was kept by people who were employed in the *Tanyei Loisang* (Tanyei Institute). Naturally it must have been done on a shift system. It is possible that the name *yuthak* was derived from the act of changing shifts, which was probably regarded as 'time for a drink' or break. And it is also possible that the term *pung* or hour was derived from both the complete immersion of the bowl *(punglup luppa)* and the drum *(pung)* used to announce the time.

Since there are eight *Yuthaks* in one day, one *yuthak* is equivalent to three Western hours. Since the noon and midnight hours are the same as Greenwich mean time, the first *yuthak* starts at 6.00 a.m. GMT. From 6.00 a.m. to the following 6.00 a.m. makes one day as opposed to the midnight-to-midnight Western clock. Daybreak does not mean the actual day break of each day, as it will vary according to the season. So also the sunset, as it will be earlier in the winter. The fixed time span between the *yuthaks* rules out the possibility of counting the hour each day by the rising and setting of the sun.

Sakabda 1665 (1743 CE)

The year of Komon Lamcha, Sakabda 1665 (1743 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. 7 Monday, the main royal palace was inaugurated. 17 Thursday, Ningthem and Sija went out to Lamka Konchin and decorated themselves with *Konbirei*.[1] The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, Khoitong the

Luplakpa[2] of Mangsamkei was killed by a large number of people from the village of Kei. 7 Tuesday, Satpam maiden the wife of the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei who was the *Senapati*[3] died. 8 Wednesday, it was reported that a woman from the area where the Mayangs who were servants to the king were settled had murdered her grandchild. 13 Monday, there was bloodshed (amongst the people), including Ningthem.[4] 20 Tuesday, Leimaching hill was set on fire. 23 Friday, the fire which started from the area of the Leimanai (the servants of the royal ladies) in Potsangpam spread and burnt the large *Yaireksang*,[5] the *Yaireksang* of the king's guards, and the Cheirap[6] court house. All the buildings were destroyed. 29 Thursday, as it was reported that the Kapuis had stolen cattle, Aakhan Aatengpa started off for Loitengpa. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. On the first day of the lunar month more than 100 Haos[7] were captured. 2 Saturday, there was an earthquake at about sunset. 3 Sunday, Aangom Cha Khongchompa was deported to Mayang. Fire broke out in (the area of) Wangkon. 17 Sunday, the Naharup Institute building was inaugurated. The guru attended the service. 18 Monday, Ningthem attended the service. 20 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 19 Thursday, Ningthem and Sicha visited the Naharup Institute. 29 Saturday, the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. 3 Wednesday, even Ningthem was involved in damming the (river) at Singchamei for it to be dredged. 16 Tuesday, Ningthem and his Sicha with all the other royal ladies left for Thangka on four rafts. They planted betel nut trees. They spent the night there and arrived at Moirang the following day. 24 Thursday, the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 27 Sunday, Ningthem and Sicha went to Nungkai and feasted on fruit. The month of **Langpan** (August/ September) began on Thursday. 3 Thursday, Sappa the *Keirungpa* died. 8 Tuesday, Ningthem and Sicha feasted on lotus seeds at Leima Ching. Also at the invitation of Sna Aahal they feasted on pineapple. 10 Thursday they returned. 26 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 29 Tuesday, three tigers were caught at Lisamlok ravine. The (king and Sicha) returned by boat. The month of **Mera** (September/ October) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, all the four *panas* left for Chirik to fell trees for Kangla (palace building). 18 Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 7 Thursday, Ningthem went to Koiremkei to inaugurate the Mayang guru's house. 20 Wednesday, Snahal left for Tupun to bring down the racing barge. 28 Thursday, the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 13 Friday, as Snahal arrived with the racing barge both Ningthem and Sicha went out as far as the mound at Moiramkhom to welcome him. Full moon Sunday, the guru set out to attack Aawa. 16 Monday, Lakham the *Lakpa* of Songsok and the daughter of Usam Chantramani were married. 28 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. On the first day of the lunar month the guru left to attack Aawa. 9 Wednesday, the people of Moirang Lanhampa left to attack Manpha in the land of Pong. 18 Thursday, Bamon Sitaram left to call out the Mayang king's son. 21 Sunday, all the four *panas* left for the foothills of Thonlampa to fell trees to build the great palace. 27 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. 28 Sunday there was a comet. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 6 Monday, Aangoupampa Puranthapa and Sicha Aaton Punyapati were married. 8 Thursday, there was an earthquake. 11 Saturday, the Kangla (palace) was moved to a temporary dwelling

place. 13 Monday, the temporary dwelling place in Kangla was dismantled. 16 Thursday, they raised the roof of the market Aayompa[8] by the length of one *Khumpom*. It was built right away. They uprooted the foundation post.[9] 24 Friday, they dismantled the house of the Lai at Kangla. They repaired it right away. The month **of Sachiphu** (March/April)[10] began on Sunday. 19 Wednesday, Moirang Khema (and others) left to dig Poiroukhong canal. 20 Thursday, they completed the digging up to Loulampan. 23 Sunday, Ningthem and Sicha decorated themselves with Kompirei (lily) at Takna. 24 Monday, the people of Moirang Lanhampa returned after attacking Manpha. 27 Thursday, they completed the digging (of the canal) from the area of Kona Kochin up to Leisangkhong. Haobam Cha the *Keirungpa* and others dug from Phiphou up to Phoubakchao and it was completed. On the 365th day the year ended.[11]

1 *Konbirei:* blue seasonal lily indigenous in Manipur, which grows in slightly marshy areas. It is now becoming extinct.

2 *Luplakpa:* official in charge of a group of people. First time the term has been used.

3 The Senapati's post was later held by the brother of the king, as was the post of the *Lakpa* (chief) of Wangkhei.

4 The sentence implies unrest.

5 *Yaireksang Aachoupa:* the large or main night quarter where those on duty stay when they do not return to their homes.

6 *Cheirap:* the higher court in the country.

7 *Haos:* presumably the Kapuis referred to earlier. The term now seems to be used to refer to hill people or non-Hindu rather than simply common people.

8 *Aayompa:* the noun of the verb *yompa* or *yomba* to wrap up, in this context to cover. Markets in Manipur are still open-sided but covered.

9 *Jatra:* noun, a Sanskrit term, the foundation post. First time the term is used in this sense.

10 Month of *Lamta* is missing. Also *Sachiphu* the first month of the lunar calendar is not given its appropriate place but is recorded at the end of the year and not at the beginning of the following year.

11 365*ta Kum loiye:* on the 365th day the year was ended. First time the number of days in the year is mentioned.

Sakabda 1666 (1744 CE)

The year of Thangka Takhen, Sakabda 1666 (1744 CE). 28 Friday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April). There was an earthquake after the morning *Yuthak* at two and a half *pung*.[1] The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 15 Sunday, there was a lunar eclipse after midnight. 25 Thursday, Ningthem and Sicha inspected the land in Lairen Sachik. 28 Sunday, they returned from their inspection of Lairen Sachik. 28 Sunday, those who were to meet the son of the king of Mayang left. 29 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 4 Sunday, Snahan and his younger brothers left to meet the son of the king of Mayang. 15 Tuesday, Ningthem inaugurated Kangla. 18 Friday, the son of the king of Mayang arrived. 25 Friday, Tensupam Khompa arrived from Aawa. The month of **Yinga**[2] (May/June) began on Thursday. 2 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 4 Sunday, Syam Sai set out for Aawa. On that day a swarm of butterflies from the Loiching direction flew to the east. 25 Sunday, Ningthem went in person and caught a tiger at Wangma Keiroi. 27 Tuesday, Mongpi Sna gave birth to a princess. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday and it was the second day of the lunar month. On the first

day of the lunar month the wife of the Mayang king's son was given a homestead.[3] 4 Monday, was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. 5 Tuesday, the Mayang king's son was escorted to the Thangcham homestead. 9 Saturday, Ningthem and Sicha left for Karthong to feast on mangoes. 10 Sunday, a Mayang (who accompanied the groom) was received at court. 25 Monday, there was a boat race between the Naharup and Aahanlup *(Panas)*. The Mayang king's son was in one of the boats. 27 Wednesday, the princess married to the Mayang king's son was escorted (to her husband.) 29 Friday, (a prisoner) ran away[4] from the prison. New moon Saturday, Ningthem went to the village of Khema and caught two tigers. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 5 Wednesday, Ningthem went to Keirao and caught two tigers. 6 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 7 Friday, Ningthem left[5] to feast on fruit at Hangkun. The month of **Langpan** (August/ September) began on Monday. On the first day of the lunar month a place of detention[6] was repaired and the work began on the same day. 2 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 13 Saturday, Sna Aahan's wife the Haopam maiden died. 22 Monday, two people who were from the same family of the king of Aawa, along with Nanda Sara and the physician Maiba Thyam Kourangka, arrived. 24 Wednesday, the Awas were received at Kuchu (the palace court) at Kangla. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 4 Friday, the people from Aawa were received at court. On that day Tansupam Khompa was deported to Suknu. 5 Saturday, those from Aawa who came to ask for the hand of a princess in marriage left. 8 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. 10 Friday, Ningthem went and caught a tiger at Chingkon. He also attended the *Kwaktanpa* festival.[7] 28 Monday, there was a flood. Paddy was scarce that year. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 9 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. 12 Tuesday, the *Katwan*[8] left to measure out the land area for the princess married to the Mayang king's son. 22 Thursday, the Mayang king's son and his wife the Leima travelled to Phupa to inspect the land. 5 Sunday, they returned. 27 Tuesday, Mahapurus died in Aawa. New moon Friday, Syam Sai arrived from Aawa. On that day all the royal ladies born in Ningthem's family drank a toast of *yu* to the princess married to the Mayang king's son. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. Smallpox broke out that month. 3 Monday, the Mayang king's son moved to Kangla at an auspicious hour. On that day Punyananda the guru to the Mayang king died. 5 Wednesday, Hidaksungpi's (daughter) Harepiya was escorted on her way to Mayang up to the Aawompa market. Her mother also escorted her.[9] 8 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 11 Tuesday, Sicha married to the guru left to immerse herself in the river Ganges. On the new moon the *Katwan* of Moirang, who was in charge of land settlement in unoccupied areas, arrived. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 5 Friday, Sna Aahal Chit Sai left to meet monk Peitra Das. 8 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. On that day Ningthem met monk Beitra Das at Haogei and they returned right away on the same day. The four *panas* who dredged the river from Kona Kochin reached Koiremkei and completed the task. The *Katwan* of Moirang was in charge of dredging in the area of Loklou. Santouaong was also dredged. 23 Monday, Mongbisna's child had the ceremony of taking solid food.[10] 26 Thursday, the residence of Sicha Moirang Thapa was set alight. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. 7 Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 14 Monday, Ningthem's royal palace was set alight. 22 Tuesday, Aangom Cha Chandramani returned from escorting the Mayang Leima (married to the Mayang prince). 28 Monday,

Tampakyum the queen's parental home was set alight. 29 Tuesday, all the four *panas* returned after completing their assignments. Wednesday new moon, Sicha Aatonpi's house in Yimthei was set alight. The month of Lamta (February/March) began on Thursday. On that day the (temple for the) Lai in Kangla was set alight. 5 Monday, the Moirang *Katwan's* house was set alight. 8 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. 20 Monday, Yipungo Ngouparam who escorted his younger sister the Mayang Leima returned.

1 *Aayuk Yuthak matung pung anika tengkot khanglei:* lit. after the morning *Yuthak* at two and a half *pung (tengkot khanglei):* at fifty-six minutes fifteen seconds after 10.00 a.m. (see note on Meetei time reckoning p. 154).
2 *Yinga:* month has been entered twice.
3 *Hum touba:* verb. Meaning obscure.
4 *thenthokkhiye* for *chenthokkhiye,* meaning either ran away or escaped. A scribal error.
5 *Lengye:* historic present, from verb *lengba* to move, the polite form of verb 'to go'. Term used for the first time.
6 *Pharaikon:* derived from a combination of *pharapa* captured ones and *kon* dwelling place, a place of detention or a prison.
7 *Kwak tanpa:* lit. to chase away the crows. One of the Meetei religious festivals in which after having induced the crows to flock in large numbers, they are chased away by shooting an arrow, and omens are read from the way they disperse and the direction in which the birds fly. The term is used here for the first time.
8 *Katwan:* official in charge of allotting new land for settlement.
9 Traditionally mothers do not see their children off when leaving the family home except at the time of the last rites at death. In this case since she was married away from home very likely her mother accompanied her to her new home.
10 *Chaumye:* past tense of *chak umpa,* meaning to have cooked rice in the mouth. Term used for the giving of solid food to the baby for the first time. This is performed with a religious rite. First time the term is used.

Sakabda 1667 (1745 CE)

The year of Snasam Maichou, Sakabda 1667 (1745 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 8 Saturday was the Cheiraopa, the new year's day in Sachiphu. 10 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu. 11 Monday, Panchang of Kapo who went to Aawa arrived with the (Aawa) emissary to ask for the hand of a maiden in marriage. They were received at court right away. 21 Thursday, the emissary from Aawa left. 23 Saturday, a tiger was caught in the village of Lairikyengpa. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. 5 Thursday, a temporary house for Ningthem was built by the course of the Kyangkhong canal. 6 Friday, the Purum king and his followers were made to move to Tarao Khunman. 17 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. 24 Tuesday, Ningthem and Sicha left to inspect the land at Koiremkei. 27 Friday they decided to invade Mayang. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. Those who went to capture Tangkhun Heinoupokton, who was reported stealing cattle, arrived. 11 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 18 Thursday, as a tiger entered the house of the Aakham family Ningthem went and caught it. 20 Saturday, Sicha Tampha married into the Haopam family died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday. 5 Thursday, they started to build a palace for Ningthem and also a temple at the Kyang homestead. 6 Monday, Sicha Aaton the Khurai Leima died. 10 Thursday, the head (frontal bone)[1] of

Sicha Aaton was decorated with flowers, and after placing it in a palanquin with many varied wedding gifts, was escorted to the Aangom family.[2] On that day Ngoubram the son of (Yipi) Hidaksungpi and the granddaughter of the *Katwan* were married. 15 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. 21 Monday, Yipungo Ramcharan who lived in Aakoicham died. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday and it was reckoned as the second day of the lunar month. 7 Thursday, Mupa of Leimapokpam was appointed a eunuch. On that day Mutum Murari was struck by the sword as he was found entering the house of Thangchapa the *Keirungpa*. 13 Wednesday, Pamon Ramgopan handed over the frontal bones of both Sicha Tampa and Sicha Aaton to be taken to the Ganges. 17 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Langpan** (August/ September) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, all the four *panas* set out to fell trees for the main palace building. On that very day the plinth for the palace building was constructed. 6 Wednesday, *(Lai)* Pakhangpa[3] fell down from the sky in the form of a cobra in front of the cloth (canopy).[4] 18 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 20 Thursday, Mungyang (Mayang) was received at court at the Kyangkhong canal. 22 Saturday, Pachari Khompa was escorted on an elephant's back. 28 Friday, Khoi was given the last rites at Nongcheng (pond). (He) stayed for twenty-two days.[5] The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday, Mayang Leima's servant Samudor was escorted on the elephant's back. 10 Tuesday, the river flowed red like blood. 19 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 14 Sunday, the *Keirungpa* of the boat makers arrived from felling the trees. 17 Wednesday, they began to plaster[6] the floor of Pakhangpa's royal house and the temple with the tiered roof in the great palace (compound). 19 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. 28 Sunday, the three *panas* who left to fell trees returned. 29 Monday, Ngangpam Haoramton disguised as a woman entered in (the palace). (He) was deported to Pasari because it was reported that he had used black magic against Sicha Aaton. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, Sicha the guru's wife and Kriparam returned from Kapo. 11 Saturday, Yumlenpa the *Lakpa* of Yaisang village died. 15 Thursday, at one *pung* and half *tengkot* after daybreak *yuthak*[7] the three-tiered main royal palace was built.[8] A Chirong[9] was attached on the roof, which was also decorated with an iron bird, and the fascia boards had carvings in the shape of leaves. On that day at the fourth *pung* after dusk[10] there was an earthquake. 20 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. 5 Tuesday, the Mungyang (Mayang) king left on an elephant's back. 8 Friday, Kapeng Khongpantapa, Koutruk and Phayeng left for Khangpat to establish villages (there). 19 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 6 Thursday, the *Mantri's* house was set alight. It spread up to the Aangom homestead. On that day Beitra Das Mahanta left for Aawa. 7 Friday, the Songpung Hao from the mountain range of Songpu revolted and injured the Meeteis and struck one to death. 8 Saturday, Yipungo Yimthangpa, Sangkoitapa and the *Nongthonpa*, these four[11] and others along with an army left for battle. On that day soon after the noon *yuthak* fire broke out at the Khetra Institute building and burnt most of the other Institute buildings. Even the Kangla building along with other buildings was burnt. But the roads were not burnt. 10 Monday, Kapui Thinglong (village) was scattered and four people were killed. One Hao died in the battle.[12] 11 Tuesday, three monks arrived from Mayang.

On that day the main house of Aangom was set alight. 13 Thursday, Kapui Chothe were scattered and 105 Haos[13] were slain. 14 Friday, (they) set out to establish a granary.[14] On that day the wife of Mahipan the king of Pong arrived from Aawa. On Sunday the new moon Samupan was attacked. Loitongpa Takhen was pierced by a spear. The enemy took the head of a man from the Thokchom family.[15] 19 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 20 Friday, Yipungo Kangkamung the *Lakpa* of Khwai set out to repel those who came to attack the land. 22 Sunday, they fought at Mayuron. The Haos were victorious and they pushed back (the Meeteis). They hurled down boulders and injured thirty-one people. 28 Saturday, Aasachep captured one immigrant Tangkhun. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 14 Sunday, a wild elephant was caught at Ningen Kakmayai and it was not destroyed. 15 Monday, there was a lunar eclipse. 19 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. Tuesday new moon, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 6 Monday, they brought the head of Pong Leima and it was buried in the Aapong homestead.[16] 14 Tuesday, Ngangpam the *Keirungpa* along with his wife Sicha was deported to Pasari. On the 365th day the year was complete.

1–2 *Lu* means head but here could be the frontal bone. A reflection of secondary burial. *Sicha* indicates that she was a princess and *Khurai Leima* that she was the wife of the king of Aangom. Since she was escorted to the Aangom family, it implies that the marriage was agreed upon but had not yet taken place. Because of it she was escorted with all the wedding gifts to the Aangom family. A very strange incident and the only time this practice took place. May be the beginning of the Hindu Asti Sanchai rite or the collecting of the frontal bone, which is practised at present amongst the Meetei Hindus. If she was already married and died in the Aangom clan area, her remains would have been brought to her parental clan area. On the 13th of the following month her frontal bone was taken to the Ganges.

3 Lai Pakhangpa is the mythical ancestor of the Ningthoucha clan which provided the Meetei kings and the snake is his symbol. The *Kharou* or cobra is one of the most poisonous of all the snakes in the land. This was a bad omen of warning.

4 *phiphou:* lit. *phi* cloth, *phou* from *phouba* to spread out. A cloth canopy which marked the sacred area.

5 *22ni leiramme:* stayed twenty-two days. Because of the previous sentence this refers to the person who was a visitor, who died and to whom the last rites were ministered.

6 *Yinkri toupa:* to apply smooth plaster. Probably plaster cement.

7–8 *Nongnganpa matung pung ama tengot khanglei:* one and a half *pung* after the daybreak *yuthak*. Thirty-three minutes forty-five seconds after 6.00 a.m. The giving of the exact hour refers to the astrologically auspicious hour for the erection of the foundation pillar, a practice which is still current among the Hindu Meeteis.

9 *Krong* for *Chrong* or *Chirong:* a scribal shortened spelling. Two small curved wooden pieces crossing each other at the base in the shape of cattle horns, which are attached to the roof at the ridge at the front of Meetei shrines, chiefs' houses and important buildings, in both the plain and the hills. This practice is still current.

10 *yachangpung 4 ta:* at the fourth pung after *yachang yuthak* which starts at 6.00 p.m. The fourth *pung* is 7.30 p.m. (see note on Meetei time reckoning p. 154).

11 Discrepancy of one person.

12 *Sirouye:* died and did not return. Indicates that this Hao was with those who attacked the Kapuis.

13 105 Haos: *hatle* were slain. Here the term Hao is also used for the Kapuis who were attacked.

14 Alternative reading: the *Keirungpa* left.

15 Taking the heads of slain enemies was the custom amongst the Haos and the Meeteis earlier on.

16 It was the custom for those maidens who were married outside their own clan or country to have their heads or frontal bones brought and given a final resting place in their country. Reflects secondary burial.

Sakabda 1668 (1746 CE)

The year of Ngairangpam Mungyang, Sakabda 1668 (1746 CE). 20 Sunday was the Cheiraopa, the new year's day in the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April). 28 Sunday, Ningthem's younger brother Aaton left to establish the Pongs.[1] The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 7 Wednesday, they began to build a temporary hut in Kangla. On that day the patterned fascia board on the eaves of the main palace was lifted up to make the roof higher. 8 Thursday, seven main villages including Maching Manlak and Mayao Mankang were received at court. 18 Sunday, a man from Wakha killed his wife with a sword as it was said that she had committed adultery[2] with Marinpa. 28 Wednesday, Ningthem deported Lakham the *Hanchapa* of Aachoipa Institute who was from Kapo to Suknu with his wife, as he refused to obey Ningthem's wish to have marriage relations between their descendants who were Kapos and those of the Lairikyengpa family. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 11 Tuesday, Ningthem and Sicha set out to inspect places. The *Maharani*[3] stayed behind in Jainagar.[4] The Maharaja went right up to the top of the Maringching hill. He returned straight away to Jainagar. At daybreak on the following day, 12 Wednesday, Ningthem and Sicha along with other royal ladies set out to inspect Laichouthen. The people danced (to welcome them). 14 Friday, all the royal ladies arrived at the Aayompa market dressed in *Pheichrengkhang*.[5] 18 Tuesday, Gobindram the *Senlungpa* died. 23 Saturday, it was said that on account of using a wooden beam, which was formerly used for the ridge of a roof, as a post for a bridge it has rained. So the post was removed. 24 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 28 Thursday, Aangom Cha Chandramani was deported to Suknu. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 3 Wednesday, the main royal palace with the roof of five tiers, which was also decorated with iron leaves on the fascia boards, was inaugurated. 19 Friday, the nobleman who was the leader of Institutes[6] was summoned and he came (in style) on the back of an elephant to the beating of drums. 24 Wednesday, the Meetei maiden Thoipi married to the *Lakpa* of Manlak set off from the market Aayompa. On that day the anniversary of Sicha Khuraileima Punyapati was performed with singing.[7] 26 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, most of the women of Thangka and Moirang who lived by the lake along with Ningthem and Sicha went by boat to Karathong to feast on fruit. On that day they began to build a house to spend the night. 5 Saturday, they went to feast on fruit. 7 Monday, Ningthem went and caught a tiger at Hikuthong in Kongpa. 9 Wednesday, it was decreed on the royal seat at the main palace that the barbers and the Deyans[8] were to intermarry. 10 Thursday, Ningthem went to Leisangkhong canal to feast on fish. 24 Wednesday, a tiger was caught at Ngachapung mound in Langkon (hill). 27 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. On that day *yu* was offered to Snamahi as the *Phamtou* officials were planning to have a drinking party. 11 Saturday, Snahal's boat capsized at Menu bridge. The *lai*[9] (which was in the boat) was lost. 12 Sunday, a tiger was caught at Chaopok. People from the three villages of Luwanglon and Khoupum came up and they were received at court in the market-place. 20 Monday, the

Pukhranpa who was also the *Senapati* died. The Naicha *(Pana)* planned to have a drinking occasion and thus offered *yu* to Hamand.[10] 22 Wednesday, (some people) left for Kekrupan. A daytime weekly market was introduced in Moirangkhom. 25 Saturday, at the place of Hamand an oath was taken to invade the Kapuis. 26 Sunday, all the royal ladies accompanied by the maharani dressed in their best clothes, and made an offering of *yu* to Sanamahi in the market-place and they also drank. 29 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. On the new moon Thursday the Haos from Nungmu were received at court in the market-place. A woman was injured at a firework display. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, the *Katwan* left to open up a road to attack the Kapuis. 10 Saturday, Ningthem set out to invade the Kapuis. 14 Wednesday, Ngangpam Maphong arrived from Pasari. 20 Tuesday, monk Doyaram left. Ningthem dug a war trench at the Moirang market by the Guru's (place). He also built a granary there. The Kapos came and paid obeisance to the army. New moon Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Hyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, Ningthem arrived at Aawompa market. On that day the Kapuis captured three Mayangs only and left them after piercing them (with spears). 4 Tuesday, Wayenpam Cha Khenlempa the *Nongthonpa* and others left to investigate the murder of the Mayangs. 12 Wednesday, Aakhan Aateng caught a tiger at the Kontha homestead. 13 Thursday, a monk by the name of Syam Das left for Pong. 17 Monday, those who set out to investigate the Kapui (murder case) returned. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November)[11] began on Monday. 28 Monday, Yumnam Tenpa's servant ate beef. It was also said that Tongbram Mupa's servant had also committed a murder and his mother had sent him away secretly to Pachari. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 23 Wednesday, an elephant scattered the market. 24 Thursday, it was reported that the Mayangs in Langjing were involved in an affray resulting in death and those who were involved were deported to Suknu. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 3 Friday, as it was found that Phicham Aahong gave his wife to his guru, and as this was not fitting, he was deported to Suknu. 5 Sunday, the guards in Kangla were made to play a hockey match after finding their own opponents. Ningthem and Sicha watched the game. 6 Monday, they discussed that the service rendered compulsorily to the king by the *four panas* should be abolished. 9 Friday, the (Meeteis) left to subdue the Kapuis as they beat up the Haos.[12] 13 Thursday, Satpam Panchi the astrologer left for Tumurok to establish a village there. None the *Khunlakpa* of the village was escorted on an elephant's back. 16 Thursday, as the (Kapuis)[13] were on their way to attack Jainagar, the newly arrived Kapuis[14] dispersed them on the road and Hao Chitong was killed. 18 Saturday, Aatonpa the youngest brother of Ningthem set out to go to Pong. 19 Sunday, Yipungo Ningthem Macha the *Senapati* and the *Nongthonpa* the administrator, these two and others left to attack the Kapuis at Laphok. 20 Monday, Kapo Leima the Snasam maiden left (for Kapo). Thursday new moon was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, the *Katwan* left to have war trenches dug all around the villages which were by the foothills. 5 Tuesday, Yipi the *Hanjapi* of Laikhan died. 7 Thursday, two tigers were caught at Langching hill. Ningthem also went there. 10 Monday, Satpam Panchi the astrologer who went to establish a village at None returned. 25 Tuesday, Sicha Wangkon Ngambi's house was set alight. On the same day fire broke out at Kyangkhong in the night. 27 Wednesday, the temple which was by the

pond was set alight. Saturday was the new moon of **Lamta** (February/March). Sunday was the first day of the lunar month. 3 Tuesday, the younger brother of the king of Aawa came and presented pearls to Ningthem. 8 Sunday, Aawa emissaries, one monk and four Pamons arrived from Aawa. 11 Wednesday, Laisram Chaothek and another, these two only, were deported to Suknu. 15 Sunday, the Aawa emissaries and the four Pamons were received (before the king). 22 Sunday, one Sanasam maiden who was married into the Aoinam family was married into the Nongthonpam family as it was said by the Aawa[15] that she was divorced. The man of the Aoinam family said that he had not divorced her and he beat up the woman and the man who held the post of the eunuch. This case was presented before Ningthem, and Ningthem gave the verdict that what was done should not have been done. The eunuch gave the order to have the house of the man (of the Aoinam family) pulled down by an elephant.[16] 24 Tuesday, Khapham Loitongpa seized flat baskets containing 200 salt cakes[17] and five shields from Yingourok. 29 Saturday and the following day Sunday were reckoned as one day and that day was the new moon.[18] Monday was the first day of the lunar month. 10 Wednesday, Khetra Gotathor, Lakhanandasi and Sikarathika from Kharan, these three went back with the emissaries from Aawa. 11 Thursday, fire broke out in the kitchen of *(lai)* Taibangkhaipa after midnight. 12 Friday, Tensupa Khompa brought a baby elephant on a stretcher. 17 Wednesday, (there was a procession) which was led by Ningthem and Sicha and the throne[19] (of *lai* Taibangkhaipa) was pulled in front of the palace gate in the moonlight. 18 Thursday, the king's guards and the young people of one of the *Leikais* (lanes) pulled the throne in the market area. 20 Saturday, they decorated themselves with Konpirei lily at Lamka Konchin. 21 Monday, elephant Senangpa attacked one elephant attendant from the Yumnam family. 23 Wednesday, the people including Ningthem captured elephant Senlongpa.[20] The chief elephant named Rajbanhap became stuck in the mud of Thagkapat moat. It was pulled up at the sound of music from the playing of trumpet and *shenai*.[21] 24 Thursday, Ningthem's younger brother arrived from Kapo. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 11 Friday, Ningthem's son Sangoitapa and the daughter of Khumanthempa the *Yimingloi Hanchapa*[22] were married.

1 This was either to help the king of Pong to regain his lost position, or if not then to help another to acquire the throne.

2 *Marinpa nai haituna: Marinpa* name of the man, *nai* short form of *naiba* to marry or sleep with, *haituna* as it was said. The wife committed adultery.

3 *Maharani:* Sanskrit term for queen. First time this term is used.

4 *Jainagar.* Note the Sanskritisation of the place name.

5 *Pheichrengkhang.* In this style of wearing the *inaphi* or the shawl, one end is tied round the head and the rest left to cover the back from the shoulder downwards to protect both the head and the back from long exposure to the sun. Alternatively it may refer to a cloth tied around the waist covering the thighs, from *phei* (thigh), *chreng* (*chengba,* narrow), *khang* (from *khwang,* waist).

6 *Sangchingpa:* Leader of Institutes. First time the term has been used.

7 Singing used for the first time in the death anniversary.

8 Term *Deyan* is obscure. Could be a corrupt form of *Tyan* or modern *Teli*, normally those who were engaged in extracting oil. Both *Teli* and barbers *(napet)* were regarded as low castes by the mainstream Hindus. This was a move by the king towards breaking narrow caste habits and integrating the migrant residents as subjects in his kingdom.

9 *Lai: lai* here means an image which came to represent the *lai* after Hinduisation.

10 *Hamand:* corrupt form of Hanuman, the Hindu monkey god; d at the end of the word is the postposition *da* to indicate 'at, to' and not part of the name. The Naichas, who were the Laipham and Khapham *panas,* were making an attempt to apply local ritual to the Hindu idol.
11 *Hiyangkei:* two entries. Two lunar months were reckoned as one to accommodate the solar calendar.
12 Seems to imply that the Kapuis were not regarded as Haos.
13 The text is very obscure.
14 Kapui *anoupa:* new *Kapuis*. Probably those Kapuis who had arrived recently were not part of the earlier Kapui settlement.
15 Aawa here referred to a person who was originally from Aawa and was in this case a witness for the woman.
16 A civil case which indicates that a woman had the right to divorce and also that a woman divorcee was free to remarry. The eunuch here was using his power to confirm the divorce and hence he also was beaten up by the ex-husband. Though Hinduism had been forced on the subjects, traditional social customs still prevailed.
17 *Charoi Thumpa ani:* winnowing baskets containing 200 flat salt cakes. *Charoi* is for *charai,* a large flat winnowing basket made of woven thin bamboo strips and used mainly for drying salt cakes, paddy or any edible object in the sun. *Thumpa,* a shortened form of *Thumpak: thum* salt, *pak* flat: flat salt cake. Salt was made locally in flat cakes and it was normally kept dry by putting it in the sun at intervals while storing. *Thum ama* was the term used for 100 cakes of salt. *Ani:* two.
18 *Thangsa 29 nongmaichingta siye:* lit. Saturday the 29th, and the moon, died on the Sunday. *Thangsa* could be read as a scribal shorthand where *tha* is considered repeated in the two words, *thangsa* Saturday (ch and s were used interchangeably) and *tha* moon. *Siye,* past tense of *siba* to die. *Tha siye* (the moon died) or *thasi* (the death of the moon) is another phrase used to indicate new moon. This phrase is used for the first time. The following sentence confirms this reading.
19 *Khang:* misspelling of *Khong* throne, and very likely the throne of Lai Taibang Khaiba. The throne is regarded as the symbol of the *lai* concerned.
20 Scribal error for Senangpa.
21 *Singka: shenai,* probably influence of Indian music.
22 *Yimingloi.* Combination of *yim* house, *ming* name (m is taken as repeated), *loi* (plural) referring to occupants. Either census office or registry of births and deaths. Term used for the first time.

Sakabda 1669 (1747 CE)

The Year of Konsam Maimu, Sakabda 1669 (1747 CE). The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday was the beginning of the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. On that day the Mantri's temple was inaugurated. The Naharup and Khapham *Panas* caught a tiger at Khamaran. They also caught two male boars. 10 Friday, Yipungo Sangoi Tapa and the daughter of *Yimingloi Hanchapa* were married.[1] 14 Tuesday, those who lived by Tamanglok lake arrived from Pong. 21 Tuesday, those who went to Pong were fined. 23 Thursday (the *lai*)[2] from Hanching was enthroned. 27 Monday, Yangampa and Aaroi were deported to Pasari as both of them were found stealing gold. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. 7 Thursday, Ningthem's son Tolen Tompa was deported to Suknu. Right away Thangchapa Langmei gave his daughter in marriage (to Tolen Tompa). Beisanap, Ras Das and another person, altogether three with the emissary from Mayang, came while the road leading to the land of the Mayangs was in the process

of being repaired. 9 Saturday, the Maharaja and Maharani went down to Kontha. 14 Wednesday, the whole land was covered with heavy mist, it was like rain. 16 Friday, in the house of Tolen Tompa.[3] 25 Sunday, Thakur Risi Das to whom the frontal bone of Sicha Aaton was entrusted arrived with the emissaries from Mayang. They were received at court right away. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. On that day Gabande the father of one of the wives of the king was deported to Suknu[4]. 7 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday, Khetri Liklai returned. One of the ladies-in-waiting on the Aawa Leima along with an emissary (from Aawa), these two arrived. Khetri Liklai was stopped from returning (to Aawa). The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began Tuesday. 6 Saturday, the people of Tareng Leikai of Kangla who went to meet the young people[5] returned with them. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. In the month of **Lamta** (February/March) Thangchapa Langmei left for Mayang to fetch Yipi Hidaksungpi the mother of the Mayang Leima.

1 Entered twice (last entry of the previous year) unless it was a second ceremony.

2 The subject of the sentence is missing. Literally the sentence reads: 'from Hanching was enthroned'. Since the king had already been crowned and there was no tradition of enthroning kings more than once, the reference is to the enthroning of a *lai,* which was also done in the Lai Haroba festival. It could refer to the reinstating of one of the Meetei *lais* which the king had discarded earlier on when he imposed Hinduism. Hanching was connected with *lai* Pakhangpa of the Ningthoucha clan and the subject of the sentence is presumably *lai* Pakhangpa.

3 Incomplete sentence.

4 Gabande *na: na* (nominative suffix), scribal error.

5 *Tareng leikai nahaka okpa thungleiye.* Sentence is obscure as it stands. *Tareng:* name of the lane, *naha* youth, *ka* (suffix) with: (people living in) *Tareng* lane along with the youths who went to meet *(okpa),* arrived (*thungleiye,* past tense of *thungba* to arrive). In this case there is no object. Possible alternative readings: (a) *Tareng leikai nahaka* (postposition *ka* along with, a repeat with *naha* scribal short form) *okpa thungleiye:* people of *Tareng* lane who went to meet the young people *(naha)* arrived (with the young people), taking the *naha* as the object, and understood as repeated by the addition of the post position *ka*. (b) *Tereng leikaina haka okpa thungleiye:* (the people living in) Tareng lane who went to meet Haka arrived, taking Haka as the object of the sentence, a name.

CHIT SAI, SAKABDA 1670–1673 (1748–1751 CE)

Sakabda 1670 (1748 CE). Abdication of Garibniwaz

The year of Khutlempa Pangan,[1] **Sakabda 1670 (1748 CE).** In the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) Ningthem the Mayang Ngampa (the conqueror of Mayangs) set out to attack Charoi. They made an army camp at Tukun Chirong. He was victorious over Charoi. They caught a *tamna*[2] and it was presented to the Maharani. A shirt with the pattern of the bird was made and the whole land contested over it. Yipi Hitak Sungpi also returned.[3] She met up with Ningthem while he was with the army in Tupum. They also attacked Langkhong. Ningthem returned right away. 10 **Kalen** (April/May), Maharaja Garibniwaz abdicated the throne in favour of his son Yipungo Chit Sai.[4] The royal father lived with Moirang Thawa the Maharani in Ramsala.[5] All those who were following the

Gouriya[6] way of life were fined. In the month of **Yinga** (May/June) the *Katwan* of Moirang built a palace for Ningthem (Mayampa) in Ramnagar.

1 Khutlempa Pangan: a Muslim with a Meetei surname. The style of recording also changes from this time onwards till the death of Mayampa (who is referred to as Garibniwaz).
2 *Tamna:* indigenous wild bird of great beauty which sings melodiously. Now almost extinct.
3 *Loklakye:* past tense of verb to harvest or to capture. Scribal error for *thoklakye* returned.
4 The recording of the *Ch.K.* during the reign of Chit Sai is very sparse, and mostly concerns the ex-king Garibniwaz. This suggests it was a troubled period during which the record was not carefully kept. It is very likely that there was a period of internal conflict, probably between the Hinduisers (Garibniwaz's party) and the traditionalists who supported Chit Sai.
5 Ramsala: location not indicated.
6 *Gouriya* is the way of living where strict Hindu caste codes were kept. After the imposition of the Hindu religion by the ex-king an attempt was made to get the people to follow the Hindu way of life in social, food and religious habits. Those who were keeping this code were now fined by the new king, indicating a clear attempt to overthrow the imposed Hindu religion and way of life. First time the term has been used.

Sakabda 1671 (1749 CE)

The year of Moiphengpa Maitek, Sakabda 1671 (1749 CE). 13 **Sachiphu** (March/April) Monday, Garibniwaz Maharaja stayed in Ramnagar. In **Hiyangkei** (October/November) the (ex)-Maharaja Garibniwaz set out from Ramnagar to escort his niece the Sicha who was the Aawa Leima, the daughter of his royal younger brother the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei. His royal son Syam Sai stayed behind in Aawa. As the Maharani[1] arrived at Metu on their return, the people of Aawa requested (him) to attack Koi on their behalf.[2] Koi was attacked. They were victorious over Koi and captured many people. Bhamon Gangkaram[3] and Sokrakpam Aakong, these two died when they fought against the Kois. Ningthem was victorious and returned to Kangla.[4]

1 *Maharani:* either a scribal error for Maharaja or the Aawas approached Garibniwaz as a personal favour through his wife as he was no longer the king.
2 It is not clear if the ex-king was taking the role of a mercenary.
3 Bhamon. First time the letter bh is introduced.
4 Kangla. Arriving in Kangla the palace is unclear since he was no longer the king.

Sakabda 1672 (1750 CE)

The year of Nongthonpa Sanong, Sakabda 1672 (1750 CE). 17 **Kalen** (April/May) Tuesday, Ningthem Garibniwaz moved from Ramnagar to the Aangom homestead. 29 Friday **Hyangkei** (October/November), (Garibniwaz) left for Thanga (Thangka) to inspect the betel nut plantation. As Ningthem Chit Sai expelled his royal father Garibniwaz (from the country) he left for Aawa. Lairikyengpa Uma Nanda was killed in Samurou.

Sakabda 1673 (1751 CE)

The year of Nukramtenpa, Sakabda 1673 (1751 CE). In the month of **Hyangkei** (October/November), (the people) heard the report that (Garibniwaz) had returned from Aawa, (and) so Nahakpam Tharoi, Keikranpa the *Hitang*, Aayanghanpam Hongpa and

Yiroipa *Lanchingpa* the commander of the battle, these four were dispatched.[1] Ningthem was destroyed.[2] 26 **Poinu** (November/December), Garibniwaz Maharaja along with his eldest royal son Syam Sai and Syam Sai's (son) Sur Sai, Mamon Waripa the *Hanjapa*, both father and son, Bramharam Krasna the monk, Palok Das, the *Katwan* from Moirang Lanhampa and his younger brother the *Hanjapa* of the eunuchs, and his younger brother the *Senlungpa*, Aangom Chantramani, Naoroipa the *Senlungpa*, Ningthoukhongjam Kaldeb, Ningonpa Syamram, Wangkhei Maimu the *Hanjapa* of the eunuchs, Lairenthumpa the *Lampu* (headman) of the Takhen (village), all these men were killed[3] at Tomphang watering place by the bank of the Brahmaputra (river).[4] Shri[5] Garibniwaz Maharaja became a *lai*.[6] There was an earthquake right away.

1 *Sikhituna:* shortened form of *pao siba* to dispatch someone with an order or request with *tuna* (postposition) on account of. The sentence reads: as these four were dispatched with an order to destroy, Ningthem (Garibniwaz). The order was taken as being carried out especially since Garibniwaz was killed along with a few of his followers a month later.

2 Ningthempu *manghanye:* meaning: Ningthem was destroyed. Ningthem *with pu* the post-position puts Ningthem the object of the sentence in the accusative case. It is unlikely that *manghanye* means 'made ritually unclean', since the ex-king had already been expelled from the country. This verb *manghanye* must be used proleptically, i.e. it points forward to the successful mission of the assassins in the following month. The alternative would be to understand that Garibniwaz was murdered in *Hiyangkei* and his companions in *Poinu*. This is unlikely since Garibniwaz's name is explicitly mentioned along with (*chingna* including, *loinatuna* along with) the others who were killed in *Poinu,*

The *Deva, Ms* has no entry on Garibniwaz's death. It has just one sentence: 'In Hiyangkei, all returned from Aawa.' 'All' probably refers to the assassins.

The *Din. Ms* has the same as the *P.Ms*.

3 *Loinatuna:* along with. This sentence lacks any verb. The verb in the previous sentence is understood as repeated.

4 It is unclear why Garibniwaz was so far north. It may have been a further journey after returning from Aawa.

5 *Shri:* Sanskrit honorific term.

6 *Lila woi.* This phrase is very difficult to interpret. *woi* to be, became (present historic). *Lila:* Bengali term meaning 'play', 'performance'. There are three possible interpretations. (a) *Lila woi* is a scribal error for *lai woi* meaning 'he became a *lai*', i.e. he died and was venerated as a divinity. In fact Garibniwaz was the first of the three Meetei kings who were deified as Hindu idols. An idol representing him is in the temple of *Ramji Prabhu* in Wangkhei, Imphal. (b) The term *Lila* is used in the sense of 'dance'. However, this meaning (used in *Ras Lila,* Manipuri dance representing the encounters of Krishna, Radha and the *gopis*) is used only at a much later date. It would in any case be meaningless in this context. (c) *Lila woi:* a colloquialism meaning 'it was a scene', i.e. in this context, a tragedy. If this is correct, it must be a much later scribal addition since the phrase was not used in this sense until more recent times.

4SANGKOITAPA BHARATH SAI, SAKABDA 1674 (1752 CE)

Sakabda 1674 (1752 CE)

The year of Chantam Chingsong, Sakabda 1674 (1752 CE). 15 **Kalen** (April/May), Sangkoitapa Bharath[1] Sai became king. The king and all the people of the land came together and chased out Ningthem Menkhompa (*alias* Chit Sai), his son Deb Sai and Chit Sai's younger brother the *Senapati*, all three, to the land of the Mayangs. Yipungsi Gangka Pishnu was chased out to Pong.[2] 5 **Yinga** (May/June), Yipungsi Aananda Sai left for Tomphang watering place, to collect the head[3] of his royal father, Mayang Ngampa (*alias* Mayampa *alias* Garibniwaz). With the singing of Hindu religious songs in a *Kirtan*,[4] he also performed a *sratha* ceremony.[5] 22 (Yinga), he returned.

1 Scribal insertion on top of the *P. Ms* leaf: Bharat Sai became king.

2 The expulsion of all those who were involved in the murder of the ex-king along with some men in his company indicates that patricide and the killing of unarmed followers were not tolerated. There is no hint of a pro-Garibniwaz reaction.

3 *Lu:* head. The collecting of the head was done for secondary burial before Hinduism was enforced. Presumably the body had been cremated or buried after death and the head then retained or exhumed for secondary burial. If the body was cremated, it would have been the first case of cremation of a Meetei king. It is unclear if the head of Garibniwaz was buried or taken to the Chindwin.

4 *Kirtan:* religious gathering where praise songs to the Hindu gods are sung with dancing.

5 *Sratha:* Hindu *shradha* ceremony in which rice balls or *pinda* are offered to the Hindu idols on behalf of the departed in the hope that the rice balls will provide a body for the departed soul to enter in its rebirth in the circle of *samsara*. Only sons can offer the *pinda*.

MEETINGU MARAMPA, SAKABDA 1675–1681 (1753–1759 CE)

Sakabda 1675 (1753 CE)[1]

The year of Konok Kongyampa, Sakabda 1675 (1753 CE). 20 **Hiyangkei** (October/November), Meetingu Marampa ascended the throne.[2] Ningthem Sangkoitapa was chased out to the land of Aawa. Khumanthempa Luwang the *Pukhranpa* and Luwang Aoinam Sekmu, these two were killed. Yipungsi Tolentompa was deported to Aoktong.

1 Between Sak. 1675 and 1685, Marampa and Chingthangkhompa agreed to reign alternately. The absence of regular record keeping indicates a very disturbed period in the country.

2 'Marampa ascended the throne.' An editorial insertion on top of the *P.* Ms leaf.

Sakabda 1676 (1754 CE)

The year of Thounaocham Mayampa, Sakabda 1676 (1754 CE). Thangchapa Cheksa the *Nongthonpa* and his son Bhagabanta Sing,[1] these two were killed.

1 *Sing.* At present the term *Sing (Singh)* is used to indicate male Hindu Meeteis. The term is used here for the first time. Thangchapa Cheksa (maker of bricks) the *Nongthonpa* could

refer to one who was a brick-maker by trade and who held the post of the *Nongthonpa* and had a Meetei surname, Thangcham.

Sakabda 1677 (1755 CE)

The year of Langsangpam Aakong, Sakabda 1677 (1755 CE). Yipungsi Tolentompa who marched from Aoktong to claim the throne was captured, gagged and strangled to death. Yimkhaipa Abhiram, Laikangpa Ramchon, Khuntrakpam Moirampa, Thangcham Murari, *Tampaknai*[1] Ramchon, Chirom Pangan and Moirangthem Khokintra, this group of people[2] were killed.

1 *Tampaknai:* post of a servant to the household of a Jubraj.

2 Probably supporters of Tolentompa.

Sakabda 1678 (1756 CE)

The year of Kyangkhong Mera, Sakabda 1678 (1756 CE). The (settlement of) Mayang servants to the royal ladies was moved to Wangching. 20 Friday of **Phairen** (January/February), Maharaja Chingthangkhompa's son Yipungo Nobananda was born.

Sakabda 1679 (1757 CE)

The year of Chapungpam Wakching, Sakabda 1679 (1757 CE). Sicha Mayang Leima arrived with her son the king (of Mayang). Yipungsi Aananda Sai the *Senapati* met them at Langkhong. Yipungsi Bhagyachantra the Jubraj and others attacked Mansai. Captured many people in battle. Maipam Syamaram died (in battle). Many royal maidens from the palace were given to the strong and the brave (in marriage).[1] Wayenpam Cha Khelempa was appointed the king of Moirang.

1 *Pineiye:* past tense of the *verb piba* to give. This term is also used for arranged marriage. The giving of royal maidens in marriage to men of courage and valour was a normal practice.

Sakabda 1680 (1758 CE)

The year of Thingkucham Aamu, Sakabda 1680 (1758 CE). In the month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) Vagyachantra the Jubraj along with Saikhom the *Lakpa* of Khapham *(Pana)* marching in the direction of Songsuk,[1] and Yipungsi Aananda Sai the *Senapati* with Mongchampa the *Lakpa* of Naharup *(Pana)* marching from the direction of Tumu, marched to attack Aawa from two directions. They were pushed back by the people of Aawa and they retreated to Kakching. 26 Friday of Hiyangkei, Meetingu Marampa set out to attack Aawa. 29 Saturday, there was a solar eclipse. It was a total eclipse. 3 **Poinu** (November/December) Tuesday, the army in Kakching was dispersed. 11 Tuesday, the royal younger brother the Jubraj fought at Leisangkhong but he was defeated and the country was devastated. The Aawas stayed nine days (in the country) and the Aawa armies who were both in the hills and the plain[2] established themselves in the Land of the Meeteis.

1 Songsuk: for Somsok. Scribal choice in spelling.

2 *Haonaitaki:* from Haonai, implying the areas where commoners both of the hills and of the plain lived.

MEETINGU CHINGTHANGKHOMPA, SAKABDA 1681–1682 (1759–1760 CE)

Sakabda 1681 (1759 CE)

The year of Khamaran Chingtum, Sakabda 1681 (1759 CE). 7 Sachiphu (March/April) Thursday, while the star Pushya[1] was in the ascendant Meetingu Chingthangkhompa[2] and the Aakham maiden who was his Maharani ascended the throne. Ningthem Marampa abdicated the throne.[3] While Loitong U Ting was occupying Songsup with an army, Saikhom Manuhor the *Lakpa* of Khapham *(Pana)* and Aakham Cha Mathabram, the father of the queen, these two marched and scattered the army (of the enemy) at Songsup (Songsok). They captured cattle and buffaloes. As they did not bring any prisoner (at the *phampan lan*) the Maharaja marched to attack Mawao.[4] Those who served at the Kangla palace[5] captured many prisoners. They also destroyed the temple which was built by the people of Aawa to commemorate their victory over the Meeteis. Ningthem was the first to return after the attack. The royal queen grandmother died.

1 Astrological implications began to be taken seriously and on the whole royal and state actions came to be controlled by auspicious and inauspicious timings.

2 Scribal heading on top of the *P. Ms* leaf: 'Chingthangkhomba ascended the throne.' Also called Bhyagyachandra *alias* Jai Singh.

3 *Phamban Kumme.* Tradition has it that Marampa and Chingthangkhompa who were brothers from the same mother made a pact to rule five years each alternately. Marampa was not a very strong person physically as he had been injured earlier on and was lame in one leg.

4 Mawao: probably Maogong.

5 *Kangla Kapana:* lit. 'those who attend Kangla'. Probably those on duty at the palace.

Sakabda 1682 (1760 CE)

The year of Nanteipa Lokhon, Sakabda 1682 (1760 CE). There was a drought. Everything was scarce. 12 Thursday **Hiyangkei** (October/November), Maharaja Jai Singh[1] along with Bhagabati Thakur, Kabo Khunbongmayum Cha Muniram Singh and Sidananda, these three servants of the king, after having consulted together with their lord, (the king) established an era[2] of the land of Meetei Kangleipak.[3] After having established the era they also introduced a new almanac. The year of (the new era) was taken to be 971 (the 971st year)[4] of the (Kangleipak) era. All those who were involved in the introduction of this era were Taipangcham Shritam, Chirom Cha Syamram, Aoinam Cha Aanantram, Yentrenpa Gangkaram and Syamram of *Aachoipa* Institute. These five were also made to join (the committee which worked out the era) which had taken five months to produce the almanac. On its completion the Maharaja gave gifts, including an elephant, gold and silver, to many Bramahons and Beisnops.[5] (The king also) scattered round coins of *Sen* currency.[6] Sitananda was given fifteen domestic servants.[7] Kapa (Kapo) Muniram was given the produce of the area of Pansa.[8] He was also presented with a royal attire, silver *kwaisen*,[9] sword, shield and palanquin, all these were given and he was appointed the *Chantra Sithanta*.[10] All (the members of) his extended family were exempted from state duties.[11] The astrologers were given every year free paddy from the produce which belonged to the people of the land.[12] In the month of **Wakching**

(December/January) Chingakhanpa Damudar the *Hinaohanba*[13] (*along* with others) dug a water course for boats up to Heirok, the area where the Mayangs who served as the king's servants were settled. The (canal) for boats up to Heirok was opened. It was opened.

1 King Chingthangkhompa had taken the name Jai Singh.

2 *Sok:* short form of *Sakabda* used for era. Since *Sakabda* is itself an era Kangleipak Sakabda is a contradiction. Meaning, they had established a new calendar.

3 *Meetei Kangleipak.* Though the Meetei Kangleipak era was established, the recording in the *Kumpapa* continues to use Sakabda. The Kangleipak era was used only for a short period in recording the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* before it reverted back to Sakabda (see introduction). *Kangleipak*. Scribal correction.

4 The year when the Kangleipak era began was taken to be 971 Kangleipak era (Sak. 1682) and not Kangleipak era year 1. This was to do with the astrological almanac handbook which was also introduced at the same time and was required to fit in the various Hindu religious reckoning of days in months which they could calculate.

5 Bramahons and Beisnops: for Brahmins and Vaishnabs.

6 *Sen* currency. *Sen* was the name of the Meetei currency and was made of bell metal. The derived meaning of the term is money. Scattering of coins was more a show of affluence than of generosity.

7 *Nai phungka panapa:* lit. *nai* servant, *phungka* family hearth, *panapa* in charge of, domestic helper, not slave. In the term *panapa* n is not written in the *P. Ms* as a closed syllable and therefore means 'in charge of the domestic hearth' or domestic help.

8 *Pansa ram:* area of Pansa.

9 *Kwaisen:* chalice-like utensil with a base where a man keeps his edible snacks or betel nuts. Used only by royalty and aristocrats. Variant spelling of *kaosen*.

10 *Chantra Sithanta.* There is no post of this description. Note the use of the Sanskrit word. The head of the Institute of Astrologers. Either a political or spiritual adviser to the king, or both.

11 *Maki sakeipu thounaihante:* Beginning of the formation of an elite group by virtue of holding a certain post and not because of valour.

12 *Leipakki lousan chahanye. Lousan* means the produce of the paddy field due to the owner, and the phrase *leipakki lousan* makes it clear that the people of the land were the owners of the fields and the produce belonged to them. These astrologers were not given paddy fields as gifts.

13 *Hinaohanba:* Chief of the boat crew.

MEETINGU MARAMPA, SAKABDA 1683–1685 (1761–1763 CE)

Sakabda 1683 (1761 CE)

The year of Naosekpam Chingpan, Sakabda 1683 (1761 CE). (The king of) Takhen presented one elephant. Yipungsi Aananda Sai the *Lakpa* of Khurai received the elephant at Moirang. Paji[1] Haridas also came with Telangka. Aakham Mathabram and Usam the *Hanjapa* of the eunuchs, these two were posted at Kakching to guard the direction of Kapo. As it was reported that one *Bramahchari* was killed by his servant at Tangkham, Meetingu Chingthangkhompa abdicated the throne.[2] Meetingu Marampa ascended the throne.

1 *Paji:* Bengali term for rogue or scoundrel. Either it was a term of affection attached to the particular man or a true character description.

2 The entry makes out that the killing of a *Brahmachari* was such that a newly converted devout Hindu king felt that he was not worthy to reign as a protector of such people. This was either a reflection of the control and power the migrant residents had over the king in the name of religion, or it may have been a simple coincidence within the regency with his elder brother when the time arrived for his elder brother to reign.

Sakabda 1684 (1762 CE)

The year of Ngarangyan Panling, Sakabda 1684 (1762 CE). In the month of **Phairen** (January/February), Yipungsi Chingthangkhompa the Jubraj along with Paji Haridas and Telangka attacked Sekpao. Captured many people in battle. They were victorious over Sekpao. There was a fierce wind. Many houses, bamboos and trees were destroyed.

Sakabda 1685 (1763 CE)

The year of Santham Panling, Sakabda 1685[1] **(1763 CE).** Many fast barges and boats were made. Yipungsi Aananda Sai the *Lakpa* of Khwai along with Jaganath Das left to see the British.[2] They returned after nine months.[3] 29 Tuesday **Thawan** (July/August), Meetingu Marampa ascended to the heavens. His royal younger brother Meetingu Chingthangkhompa became king.

1 Scribal note on top of the *P. Ms* leaf: ‘death of Marampa’.

2 *Firigi:* for *Firingi*, Arabic for foreigners. In this context the British. First encounter with the British. Date not indicated.

3 *Tha 9 ta:* lit. in nine months. In this context the phrase can only mean ‘after nine months, nine months later’. The emissaries therefore must have returned after king Marampa’s death. There is no detailed record with month and date as was normally the case in the recording in the *Ch.K.* In this troubled period, only major events within the king’s reign are recorded.

According to the British records, the draft treaty between Hari Das Gossain, on behalf of Jai Singh, and Harry Verelst, on behalf of the British, was made on 14 September 1762, and the final treaty signed by ‘Anunda Sah’ and others on behalf of ‘Gourshah, Raja of Meckley’ with the British on 11 September 1763 (1 September 1685 Sak.) This was the first contact with the British.

GLOSSARY OF MANIPURI WORDS

Aa tang khun either people of Aa or Aa who are migrant residents in a village.
Aachoipa those in the outer flank in the battle formation, or conscripts.
Aachoipa Hanchapa person occupying the post of Hanchapa in the Aachoipa Institute.
Aachoipa Loisang Institute of Volunteer Militia.
Aahanlup one of the divisions in which the land was divided for administrative purposes.
Aahanlup Sanglen Lakpa the chief of the main office of the Aahanlup Institute.
Aahong yu rice beer used as libation and as a toast.
Aametpa Loisang women's court. (Different from *Maipa Aametpa Loisang* Institute of physiotherapists who massage the stomach.)
Aangampa those in authority.
Aangom Yek name.
Aangoupa, Aangoupampa designation of the king of the Aangom *yek.*
Aapanpi wives 3 and 4 in the ranking of the wives of the polygamous kings.
Aaseipa Loisang the Institute of vocal music and *pena,* one-stringed indigenous violin.
Aason aana the frail and the suffering.
Aawa Reima a Meetei princess or a lady married to the king of Aawa, queen of Aawa.
Aawomba keithen Aawomba market. *Sna Keithen* Royal Market, *Ima Sna Keithen* Royal Market for Women.
Bamon for Pamon, Brahmin caste.
Beiraki from Bengali *Beiragi,* a religious group belonging to the Krishna cult.
Chak Thang Name of the sword; may represent the original symbol of rule among the Chakpa taken over by the Meetei kings. *Chak* short form of Chakpa.
Chakpa the indigenous inhabitants of Manipur.
Charoi thumpa winnowing basket with flat salt cakes.
Chatheitatuna forbidden to go on religious grounds.
Chatra toupa for Jatra (Sanskrit) *toupa* to set out at a set auspicious time.
Chaumye past tense of *chak umpa* the religious rite when a baby takes solid food the first time.
Chayin millet.
Cheikakpa firewood collector.
Cheiraopa/Cheiraoba the Meetei new year festival.
Cheirap name of the civil court in Manipur.
Chengluk rice and other edibles.
Chingkhei north-easterly direction, associated with Lai Nongpok Ningthou.
Chingnunghut a path through a mountain, a tunnel.
Chingpuroi Hao commoners who dwell in the hills, (lit.) dwellers in the hills who are commoners.
Chirong the cross in the shape of cattle horns which is placed at the front of the apex of the roof of the *lai's* house and later the chief s house.
Chuki either a mendicant or a person of the Chuki caste whose profession is spinning and weaving.

Chumpun Huiroi a strap to fasten the headgear used by an animal tracker.
Goripniwaz for Garibniwaz.
Gouriya the observation of the Hindu caste requirements.
Gosai muni Benagli term. Either an elder or a mendicant.
Hanchapa/Hanjaba an official post.
Hao commoners, hill people.
Hao nai the commoners who are the subjects and servants of the king.
Haopam Cha child or son of Haopam, or of the family of Haopam (fem. *Chanu*).
Haorampu/lambu an official in the king's service posted in the hills with certain minor powers concerning law and order among the people in the hills. Sometimes shortened to *Lampu* or *Lambu*.
Harao Lou Field of Joy. A symbolic act on the part of the king to mark the ploughing season of the year with the arrival of the early rain. This falls around the time of the Meetei *Cheiraopa* or new year festival.
Hingchapa male witch.
Hingchapi female witch.
Hitakphu Khutong polite form used to indicate pot smoking and also the actual pot used.
Hitang/Hidang name of a post.
Hiyang hiren large fast barge.
Hiyangkei Hi tongye the boat race that took place in the month of Hiyangkei (October/November). Probably the month received its name from the boat race festival which was held yearly in this month.
Hiyangloi boat crew.
Hiyangloi Hanchapa post. The *Hanchapa* of the boat crew.
Hongpa to dedicate.
Houneiye past tense of the verb to ask, to accompany.
Huirin Thatpa the tearing off of the intestines of a dog used to seal a covenant.
Huiroi animal tracker who uses dogs. One of his tasks was to track down tigers to catch or kill them, especially when they became abundant and a threat to the lives of people and domestic animals.
Hum touye obscure, but used to refer to the mother's singing a lullaby to her infant.
Kai khinye placed the coffin, ether burial or black magic.
Kakyen name of a mythical bird. *Kakyen* may also be a corrupt form of Khakyen, a Shan state in upper Burma.
Kampong aquatic edible plant.
Kang name of an indoor game. The term is also used for the cart used at the Hindu Rath Jatra festival.
Kangchei/jei hockey, but also used for polo *(sagol kangchei)*.
Kangla the area where the original palace of the Meeteis stood. Also used to indicate the capitals of other *yeks*.
Kanglata yiruppa taking of the water ordeal in the Kangla palace complex.
Kangleipak The ancient name for the land of Manipur.
Kapo for Kabaw, area between Ava and Manipur.
Katwan an officer who allocates new land for settlement.
Kei khong either a canal in the area of the Keis or a canal frequented by tigers.

Kei Loi the area where the Kei group lived, which was also used as an area for deportation.
Keiroi granary hands.
Keirungpa official in charge of and responsible for opening granaries.
Keisangpa the keeper of the royal granary.
Keisum prison.
Khada tha term used in reference to the head of either a captured victim or an enemy, which was buried along with the dead person. The head was usually put under the corpse.
Khairamme past tense of verb *khaipa* to share out.
Khaki Shan state to the north-east of Manipur in southern China.
Khamaran an area far to the south.
Khamenchatpa a silk cloth on which the design of the curves of Pakhangpa (the ancestral snake deity of the Ningthoucha *yek*) was printed, originally reserved only for the king and the queen but at times was also given as a prize to people of outstanding merit.
Khamlouye prevented or persuaded not to proceed.
Khang a cooking pot shaped like a wok.
Khangpok kumme moved to a temporary hut. *Khangpok* later came to mean the temporary enclosure where the dead were kept while preparations were made for their cremation, which normally takes place as soon as possible after death.
Khoiru beeswax.
Khomme past tense of verb *khompa* to herd together.
Khong chingye a commemorative event at which the enclosed wooden throne of the *lai* was pulled along by the worshippers.
Khong hongpa dedication of the throne.
Khongphen nai fought at the battle.
Khuncha the *Khapham* and *Laipham Panas* were collectively known as *Khuncha*.
Khunchaosang House of plenty, probably a building which dealt with public welfare.
Khunkoinapa lit. marching round the village. Public shaming of an offender by crying aloud the offence as the culprit is made to walk round the residential areas.
Khunlakpa chief of a village.
Khunyai middle or centre of a village.
Khupham (laipham) sacred place, a place dedicated to or associated with a *lai*.
Khupom the measurement of the calf (of an adult), used in measuring.
Khurailеima designation of the wife of the king of Aangom.
Khwairakpa the chief or *lakpa* of the Khwai area.
Kiyong temple with round dome. Burmese style.
Koklou mask.
Konok tanyeipa those from the group of astrologers known as Konoks who were also official timekeepers of the Meetei *pung* (hours).
Konpirei/konbirei indigenous blue lily of the iris family.
Kumloiye last day of the year.
Kwak tanpa lit. ‘scattering the crows’ in order to read the omen for the year from their flight formation. This ritual became incorporated with the *Ukai Kappa* yearly practice where an archery contest took place.
Kyang Laisapa sculptor from Kyang.

Lai divinity.
Lai kouparu nongmei kapye thundering at the Kouparu mountain.
Lai maharaja divine maharaja.
Lai Nongsapa name of a divinity.
Lai oiye lit. became a *lai*, or deified: died.
Lai Pakhangpa the patron *lai* of the Ningthoucha *yek*.
Laikhan slanting roofs at the front and back of a Manipuri house.
Laiki Sangkai the shrine where the *lai* is housed; *sangkai* is also used of a house to show reverence to the occupants.
Laiming louhanye lit. 'made to take the name of the *lai*'; refers to being initiated into the Hindu religion. Later this was combined with the taking of the sacred thread by boys and for girls a string of *tulasi* beads, in Manipur Hinduism.
Lainingthou Phanlou Khompa the sovereign *lai* who holds all the earthly thrones and the earth; refers to *Sanamahi*.
Lainingthou Wahaipa the oracular sovereign deity.
Laipan emissary.
Lairen angoupa white python.
Lairen atiyata paiye lit. 'python flew in the sky'; a comet.
Laison uttering (by the *Maipi*); used of the words of the *lai* through the *Maipi*.
Laison akonpani (paoson akonpani) the last oracle from the *lai*.
Laiwa oracle.
Laiwa Haipa oracular deity.
Laiwa Haipaki Murti image for *Laiwa Haipa*.
Laiwa thipa to seek the aid of witchcraft.
Laiyingthou king of the *lais;* also used as an honorific title of the Meetei kings from the time of Khakempa.
Lakhaiye came.
Lakpa chief, official in charge of.
Lam measurement which comprises the distance from the tip of one middle finger to the other, across the shoulders, when both arms are outstretched.
Lam thokye past tense of *lam thokpa* to go out in ceremonial procession.
Lamankhumba/lamkhumba to take revenge.
Lamapi female ancestral divinity governing a particular area.
Lamhangpa yumthangpa immigrants dwelling in a previously unsettled wasteland.
Lamkhumki while avenging.
Lamkumme past tense of *lamkumba* to go down to visit places outside the city area.
Lamlapu for *lamlanpu* illegal immigrant.
Lammei wildfire.
Lamsan undomesticated cattle.
Lan Chingpa commander of the vanguard.
Lan napa to invade, to attack, to raid.
Lan narupa past conditional form of *lan napa*.
Lan tanpa to repel.
Lan thipa to go and look out for possible places in order to raid.
Lanchao lit. 'great war', battle or fight.
Lanlu heads of enemies taken in the battle.

Lanlumpa to seek out and apprehend.
Lanlup groups into which the male subjects of the country were divided for service to the country, including defence.
Lanta Thourangpa quartermaster.
Leikai lane in a residential area.
Leikham indigenous plant regarded as having medicinal value, when it is burnt after being dried, and inhaled.
Leima ladies married to the royal household and their male relatives. It also came to be applied to the descendants of the females of the royal family.
Leima pokpa the queen's father.
Leimakhupi title given to the fourth and fifth wives of the Meetei kings.
Leimanai servants of the queen.
Leimapokpi the queen's mother.
Leipakki lousan chaiye received freely a specific portion of the product of the paddy crop (of the people) of the land.
Leiren katkhamye pattern of flowers carved on the fascia board of the house.
Lengye historic present of *lengpa,* polite form of *chatpa* to go, to walk.
Liki thong bridge made of cane.
Loi chanpa to subdue and incorporate.
Loi lam a subjugated and occupied territory.
Loi thapa to deport either for life or at the king's pleasure. *Suknuta Loi Thapa* to deport to Suknu; this has the extended meaning of deportation followed by capital punishment by drowning.
Loi tongye declared an occupied territory.
Loitongpa subjugated area which pays tribute to the king
Lou paddy field.
Lup/rup group, division.
Lup lakpa in charge of a group.
Lupa koklou silver mask. (Gold and silver masks were used in the secondary burial.)
Lupa Lanmeichingpa silver clasps made in the design of *langmeiton* bird (indigenous, now extinct).
Lupa luhup silver crown. But could be a corrupt form of *Nupa Luhuppa,* referring to the males of the subgroup of Tangkhun who wore a hairstyle in the shape of a crown.
Maichou Meetei scholars and advisers in the service of the king who wrote in the Meetei script.
Maipa physician, religious functionary (male).
Maipi religious functionary (female); also used for midwife.
Maki takye his line was wiped out.
Manghanye was destroyed or after Hinduisation declared ritually unclean.
Mangkan sa probably a breed of horse from Mangkan.
Mangkansang Institute in charge of graves.
Mangki makhata at the bottom of the grave.
Manglen the main or chief graveyard.
Mangnai graveyard for the servants, or keepers of graveyards, or those in charge of secondary burial.
Mangnao graveyard for the male relatives of the Meetei king.

Manipur a name given to the country by the Hindus, probably not until the late nineteenth century CE (see Introduction).
Mantri Sanskrit for minister.
Maopi a species of bamboo which has a very thin wall.
Mathon tiered.
Mathou kokpiye exempted from compulsory duties to the state.
Maton Yipung the royal maternal uncle.
Matu manai lit. 'wife and servant', used of a woman dedicated to the *lai*.
Mayampa elder brother.
Mayampi title used of the Meetei queen, from *pi* (mother of) *mayam* (the people).
Mayang people from Cachar and Shylhet, now degraded to denote any outsider from the Indian subcontinent.
Mayang ningthou macha lam pampa son of the Mayang king who wanted to own and occupy (part of) the land.
Mayang sa a breed of horse from Mayang.
Mayang Yimpham the area where the Mayangs were settled, from *yim* house, *pham:* short for *mapham* the area, or place.
Meehouron genealogy.
Meetei name of the dominant *yek* in the confederacy, later applied to the whole country: *Meetei Laibak.*
Meetei lairik books written by hand in Meetei script.
Meetei mayek original script used to write Meeteiron.
Meetei pung Meetei musical instrument, Meetei time reckoning.
Meetei Reima (Leima) queen of the Meeteis.
Meeteiron language spoken by the Meeteis and used as a lingua franca.
Meetingu (or *Meetingo*) *Ingu* or lord of the Meeteis. Later became the designation for the kings of Manipur.
Meikhu hidakphu pot smoking.
Meita yikpa lit. 'to be fired' as in firing bricks. Cremation of the dead after Hinduisation.
Men a cave in the Kangla complex.
Men tongpa to sit at the *Men* in the Kangla palace; refers to the coronation of the Meetei kings.
Moimit openings like eyes by the king-post of a house.
Moimitki lan the first stage in a battle when the adversaries stared and confronted each other before the actual fighting took place.
Na thonpa ear decorations.
Na yatle pierced the ears.
Naharup one of the *panas* or divisions into which the land was divided for administrative purposes.
Naharup Sanglen the main office of the *Naharup* Institute.
Nai phungka panapa servant in charge of the family hearth.
Naicha the *Aahanlup* and *Naharup Panas* were collectively known as *Naicha*.
Naipa short for *mawa naipa,* either to marry, or cohabit, or commit adultery, depending on the context. Term is used only in reference to females.
Naokan grove the grove associated with the *lai* for a safe delivery at childbirth. *Nao,* short for *naopham* placenta.

Nayan Lakpa post probably responsible for the king's ear ornaments.
Ngamlouye were victorious when they were invaded and repulsed the enemy.
Ningthem another name used for the king.
Ningthem Lamkhumki the king who avenges.
Ningthem mama queen mother.
Ningthou king.
Ningthou cha yimnak family name of those related to the king but who did not occupy the throne.
Nongkaiye ascended to the sky, died.
Nongmapanpa or *tha aahan nong* the first day after the new moon of the lunar month.
Nongpok for *Lai Nongpok Ningthou*.
Nongpokka nuhongye dedicated to the service of Lai Nongpok Ningthou.
Nongthonpa a post within the ten Ningthoupongpa which served as the king's close cabinet. His special task was to carry the king's *Chakthang* sword at the time of the Meetei king's coronation.
Nuhongye (luhongye) married.
Nurabi peasant woman.
Ougri, Oukari for lyric: lit. 'What!' 'What do you say?' 'What do you think?' It has political overtones when sung by kings, and is meant to overcome enemies.
Pakhangpa the founder ancestor of the Meetei dynasty, also called *Ningthoucha yek.*
Pamon for Bamon, Manipuri Brahmin.
Pana name given to the divisions into which the land of Manipur was divided for administrative purposes.
Pangal Name of Manipuri Muslims who after being settled in Manipur integrated into the culture while still retaining their faith. Probably derived from 'Bangal', their original homeland.
Panlok oiye the *Meetei Cheiraopa*, new year's day.
Panthoipiki murti image for Panthoipi, a Meetei ancestral female divinity.
Paonam hiten anchoring place by the Paonam settlement.
Paoson Akonpa the last uttering or message (of the *lai*).
Pap kokpiye Pap a Hindu term for moral and religious requirements according to caste. The phrase means the requirements were met through religious rites.
Paphal the layout or forms of Pakhangpa, the ancestral snake deity, or the layout of the Kangla complex.
Phampan throne.
Phampan kaiye ascended the throne.
Phampan kumme/Phampan theitheiye demoted from the throne, used mostly of the king's wives.
Phampan lan an attack or a raid to commemorate the king's ascension to the throne in which at least a prisoner was to be taken.
Phamthou court officials of high rank.
Phanchao chingye the pulling of the large throne of the king by his subjects to commemorate victory over the enemy.
Pharaikon a place of detention.
Pharakye From verb *phaba* to capture: captured and presented (to the king).

Pheita eunuch. The term was also used of a person working in the Pheita Institute which carried out various tasks in the country. *Sanglingpa, Pheita, Pheita Hitang, Pheita Hanchapa,* post names in ascending order in the Pheita Institute.
Phi phouye lai haraouba or a canopy, or cloth to mark the sacred area.
Phike silk cloth or garment, lit. cloth of a delicate texture.
Phipong chami a cloth woven at the loin loom with a specific pattern, no longer identifiable.
Phira thapa sericulture.
Phisa sangkai house where the royal cloths are woven.
Phiring for Phiringki, Arabic for European.
Phou pot a pair of baskets of *phou* (or paddy). Paddy was and still is measured in specific baskets. The size of such baskets is not standardised. In the case of landowners and tenant farmers it was (and still is) fixed by mutual agreement. One basket *(sangbai/sangpai)* weighs approximately 29.86 kg.
Phura Laiyum shrine for the *lai*. *Phura* may be a loan word from Burma.
Pipa the male head of an extended family.
Piyong probably mispronunciation of pistol.
Poireiton name of one of the leaders of the early settlers in Manipur, contemporary of Pakhangpa.
Pong former important Shan state in upper Burma between Manipur and Aawa.
Potloiye last rite after death, used for secondary burial and subsequently for cremation after Hinduisation.
Potsangpa security guard.
Potsempa witchcraft.
Pukhranpa one of the ten Ningthoupongpa, an official of high rank, the prime minister. He had the responsibility of carrying the special bag for the king at the Meetei king's coronation.
Pung Meetei drum which is cylindrical but wider in circumference at the centre.
Pung Meetei hour (see note on Meetei time reckoning p. 154).
Purakye from the verb *puba* to bring, to carry; past tense: captured and presented (to the king).
Rakpa for *lakpa* chief.
Reima/leima for queen.
Sai adopted as the surname for the male descendants of King Garipniwaz.
Sakei/sagei extended family.
Sakon Hanchapa person in charge of horses or anyone involved with horses.
Sakon Kangchei polo.
Sakon senpa horse grooms.
Sakon senpa hanchapa the person in charge of the horse grooms.
Salai Yek or clan.
Samsok state in the Kapo valley.
Samu thankokpa elephant which has not yet grown tusks.
Samuna hunneiye tossed about by an elephant.
Samusenpa Hanchapa person in charge of elephant hands.
Sang Aa probably a Shan group.
Sangchinpa leader of Institutes.

Sangkhu long wooden bath.
Sanglangmei the house which the king uses for adorning himself with official attire.
Sanglen main office.
Sanglen Lakpa the *Lakpa* of the main office.
Sangsang guest house, or dormitories for young males and females which are under the supervision of the Khunlakpa (chief of the village) and his wife; also found amongst the Kuki and Naga people of Manipur.
Sari sonneiye made a covenant.
Sarong lamlen cross-beams in the shape of bull's horns.
Seinaiye injured.
Sekpin layered umbrella, usually white, used for the *lai*.
Sen name of Meetei currency. Word is now used for money.
Sen chaiye scattered coins probably to show wealth or benevolence.
Senaputhi for *senapati*.
Senchao Aachoipa large sums of ready cash.
Senloi Langmai Langmai (an ethnic group) who paid the tribute money in *sen*, the Meetei currency.
Senlungpa designation of an official probably originally a keeper of money.
Senman redemptive price.
Senpung a gong made of bell metal with a boss in the middle.
Sicha/Sija king's wives, including the reigning queen, or females married to or born into the royal household and the king's extended family, from both the male and female lines.
Sinaipa Hanpa/Sinai Hanpa senior craftsman in charge of all those who work at producing woven clothes at all stages.
Singh designation for Hindu Manipuri male.
Sinneiye exchanged or was made to be responsible for.
Sna khonpa to sieve gold.
Sna koklou gold mask (probably used at secondary burial).
Sna sangkai royal house.
Snathong palace gate.
Soichin fresh bamboo shoots which are eaten as a delicacy.
Soukap pointed wooden spikes, concealed in a ditch to trap either animals or enemies.
Sratha Sanskrit word for *sradha*.
Suknuta thaiye lit. 'sent to Suknu', meaning either deported or subjected to capital punishment at Suknu.
Tahun tapata the distance of a spear's throw.
Takhen present-day Tripura.
Takhen khong canal which was named after the people of Takhen, who dug it.
Tampak nai servants of the crown prince.
Tangamme from verb *tangpa* to be scarce.
Tangkhun migrant resident or a clan name.
Tangngaine the last resort.
Tansinkhiye to force one to return or go back.
Tekhao present-day Assam.

Tekhao Reima Manipuri princess/maiden who was married to the king of Tekhao and became queen of Tekhao.
Tha aahan nong/Nongma panpa first day of the lunar month after the new moon.
Tha thokpa monthly remembrance day of the departed in the family.
Thamchet seeds of the lotus flower which are edible.
Thangchou large knife like a cutlass, an all-purpose large sharp tool, different from swords used in battle.
Thangjing (Thangching) the ancestral *lai* of Moirang in Manipur.
Theitheiye past tense of *theithapa* to be demoted.
Thinpa/thinthokpa to see one off or to escort.
Tolairoi Hanchapa man in charge of palanquins.
Ukai kappa archery target shooting.
Ukak planks of timber.
Ukrong yungpa to erect a wooden post either as a memorial or in commemoration.
Uleisang evergreen trailing foliage of the orchid family.
Umang lai term used for a Meetei divinity.
Utra probably a short form of *Wu tara* ten pillars. Name of the court in the Kangla complex.
Wai measurement, distance from the thumb to the side of the palm of an adult when the fist is clenched.
Wakongpa to fine.
Wakongtuna siye lit. 'died because of punishment': punished until death.
Wangkhei Rakpa chief of the Wangkhei area.
Wangon pukei loi storehouse where *loi* payments were kept.
Wayen thouta constitutional rules and regulations.
Wayenpa judge in a court.
Wuki lan battle of sticks.
Yai oipa having medicinal value.
Yaireksang Aachoupa the large night quarters of those on duty for the king in the palace.
Yaisa the king's personal chief horse or elephant, chosen for its special qualities.
Yaisakun Lakpa chief of the Yaisakun area.
Yakeipa aubade sung on waking the *lai* or the king.
Yang ridge of a pointed roof.
Yayong inpa groom living in the wife's family house after marriage; probably a residue of a previous matriarchal system.
Yek clan
Yenneiye shared out.
Yi taiye lit. 'blood was shed'. *Ningthem lam khumbagi yi taiye,* lit. blood was shed while Ningthem was avenging.
Yim tai settled or moved to his own house.
Yimingloi registry of births and deaths.
Yimingloi Hanchapa officer in the Yimingloi Institute.
Yingou sang club for male officials.
Yinkri touye plastered the floor with smooth cement.
Yipemma designation for female.
Yipi king's wife, wet nurse.

Yipi Hidak Sungpi king's wife who was also skilled in making either tobacco paste for pot smoking or indigenous medicine.
Yipungo designation for male.
Yiram the river's course.
Yiratle appeased with animal sacrifice.
Yokcheiye the polite form of verb *yokpa* to adopt.
Yu fermented rice beer.
Yumchao great palace.

PART THREE

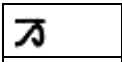
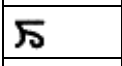
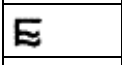
THE *CHEITHARON KUMPAPA:* THE ORIGINAL SCRIPT

MEETEI MAYEK OR MEETEI SCRIPT

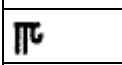
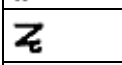
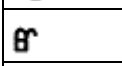
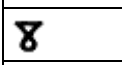
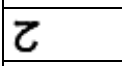
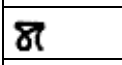
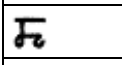
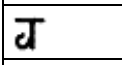
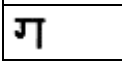
Approved *Meetei Mayek* script. See *Manipur Gazette* No. 33, 22 April 1980, Annexure 1–5 (1/2/78-SS/E)

Original letters (eeyek eepi)

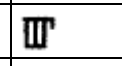
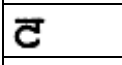
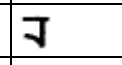
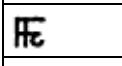
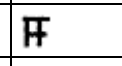
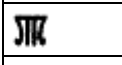
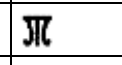
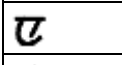
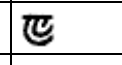
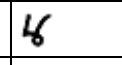
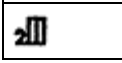
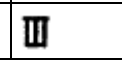
Letter	Pronunciation	Probable meaning	Equivalent
	kok	head	k
	sam	hair	s
	lai (for laipak)	forehead	l
	mit	eye	m
	pa	eyelash	P
	na	ear	n
	chil	lips	ch
	til	saliva (or life)	t
	khou	palate	kh
	ngou	larynx	ng
	thou	rib cage	th
	wai	embryo or sperm	w
	yang	spine	y

	hak (for hakchang)	body (or human being)	h
	uun	skin	u
	ee	blood	ee, i, ei
	pham	womb	Ph
	atiya	sky (implying birth)	a

Letters developed later

Letter	Name	Equivalent
	gok	g
	jham	jh
	rai	r
	ba	b
	jeel	j
	deel	d
	ghou	gh
	dhou	dh
	bham	bh

Final forms of the letters used in closed syllables (lonsum eeyek)

Letter	Final form	Equivalent
		k
		l
		m
		P
		n
		t
		ng

Vowel signs

Sign	Name	Equivalent	Position in relation to the letter
	otnap	o	after
	inap	i	after
	anap	aa	above
	yetnap	e	after
	sounap	ou	above
	unap	u	under
	cheinap	ei	above
		ng	above

THE MANUSCRIPT TEXT OF THE *CHEITHARON KUMPAPA* IN *MEETEI MAYEK*

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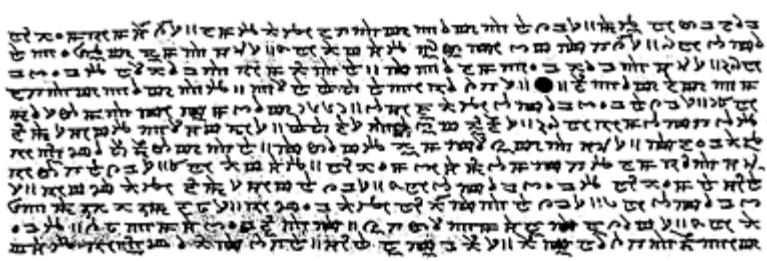

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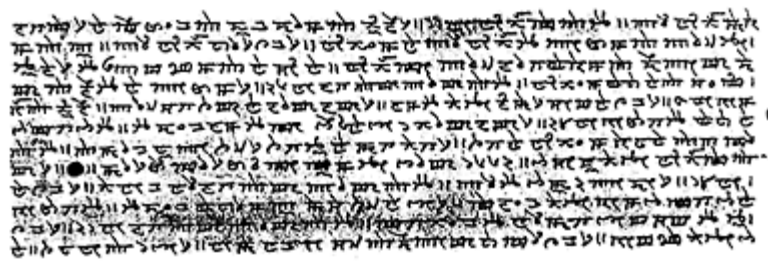

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